A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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NEW TIMES

THE WAY TO A WORLD WITHOUT ARMS

WHERE MAN IS MORE FREE

Refuting a false argument

1917–1987

TIME AND PEOPLE

The Pavlov House

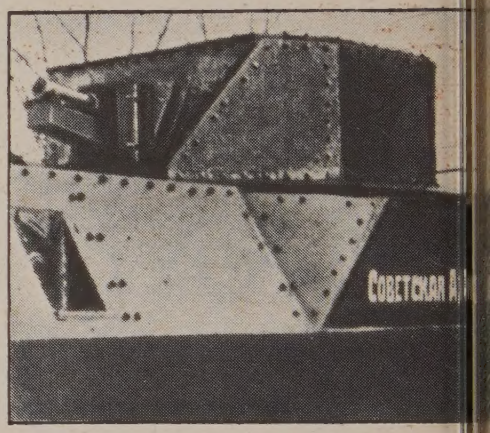
The Pavlov House became a legend during the fierce Battle of Stalingrad. The four-storey building, riddled with bullets and fragments of shells, with its empty windows and pockmarked walls, was an impregnable stronghold that the nazis could never take. The house held out for 58 days of siege, longer than the defence of France. It was held by sergeant Yakov Pavlov and a handful of soldiers. They joked that "the whole of the Soviet Union" was under his command. Indeed, here Russians and Ukrainians, Georgians and Uzbeks, Kazakhs and Tadjiks fought shoulder to shoulder to the bitter end and withstood all the attacks of the enemy.

Planning their invasion of our country, the nazis persuaded themselves that the U.S.S.R. was "an artificial and loose conglomeration of a multitude of nations." General Halder, the chief of the general staff of the German land forces, once said: "Soviet Russia is like a windowpane: you have only to strike it with your fist to shatter it into fragments."

But when on June 22, 1941, they burst into our home from the Western frontiers, all the peoples of our country took it as their common misfortune.

The clarion call of the famous song, "Rise, great country, rise to the deadly battle!" found a response in all hearts. In big cities and small towns, in the hot south and the cold north, villages in steppe and on mountain, in Siberia.

Drafting stations throughout the length and breadth of the country were stormed by volunteers—old and young, workers and school-goers, Russians and Moldavians, Chuvash and Armenians. Often people gathered near the drafting stations long before they opened. Three thousand young people from Turkmenia voluntarily went to the front early in the first days of the war. In Baku, in two days alone,75 thousand people joined the emergency volunteer corps. Thousands of people from Bashkiria applied to be sent to the front, and formed two Bashkir cavalry divisions. All in all, during the war years over 80 national and multinational divisions and brigades were formed.



The armoured train Soviet Armenia built with money contributed by collective-farmers from the village of Komarlyu in Armenia

Komsomol volunteers from Tallinn came to defend Leningrad

The division under the command of General Panfilov made up of men from Kirghizia and Kazakhstan covered itself with eternal glory. At the junction of roads in the village of Dubosekovo, 28 soldiers encountered 50 fascist tanks. Hardly any of the fightingmen survived but they did not budge an inch. It was the tanks that retreated.

In the rear, people of various nationalities strove to help those bereaved by the war. More than 10 million of the civilian population were evacuated from the areas of hostilities. They found themselves in other republics, but they did not feel they were strangers. Thousands of orphaned boys and girls from towns and villages occupied by the enemy were taken into Uzbek, Turkmen, and Tadjik families. The Mamenko family in Moscow adopted eight orphans. The Kirghiz Akhmedovs adopted 14 children of ten different nationalities. Thus ties of the most enduring brotherhood developed and strengthened, brotherhood united by common hardship, a common struggle against difficulties, and common bloodshed for their country.

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

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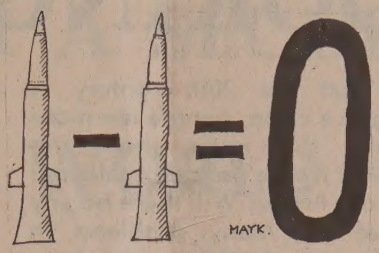

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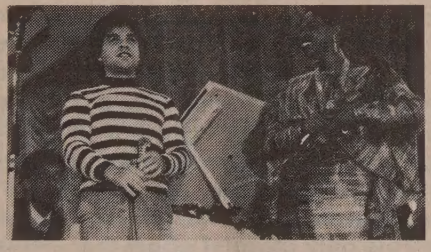

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REALITY AND GUARANTEES FOR A SECURE WORLD

is the heading of Mikhail Gorbachev's article published in this issue (pp. 3-6). The General Secretary of the CPSU reflects on the Soviet Union's position regarding a comprehensive system of international security, which can become a reality only if all weapons of mass annihilation are scrapped.

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FROM OUR MAILBAG

I shall never forget the fraternal Soviet people which was of great help to us during the national revolutionary war of 1936-39. At that time I was a lieutenant in the Republican People's Armed Forces, which later cost me six years in jail. Later I joined the Communist Party of Spain. I've been a member of the Spain-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society for years, and am general secretary of a pensioners' trade union association. To me, the Soviet Union has always been and remains a great society on which I pin all my hopes for the further progress of mankind.

MANUEL PAC BIVAS
Barcelona, Spain

It is with a great deal of interest that I follow the progress of perestroika in your country. I'm sure you are on the right track. There is a practical need for political flexibility. I don't think this contradicts socialist principles in any way.

DIXON KENDALL
Boston, U.S.A.

I learned from a Soviet publication recently that the Amber Room, looted by the nazis during World War II, has been restored. I suggest in this connection that you start a new regular column tracing the fate of the objets d'art stolen from your country in the war years. I believe such a column will not only make interesting reading, but help find works of art that are still missing.

ULRICH KOCH
Berlin, G.D.R.

EDITORIAL

LOOKING AHEAD

Now that the 20th century is drawing to a close, people are more concerned than ever about the future. Will it be a peaceful, safe and prosperous future? Will there be any future at all? Many problems in a large variety of fields ranging from economics to ecology have assumed global proportions and critical dimensions. Each of the impending crises is fraught with disaster. Too many fingers are in dangerously close proximity to the Button, and the chances of it being pressed by acident to trigger the last and terminal disaster are high.

Indeed, the world has now reached a moment of truth. The situation as it is cannot continue. Something must be done about it soon. But what exactly? There is a pressing need to look for the answer together, to LOOK AHEAD!

The article, "Reality and Guarantees for a Secure World" by Mikhail Gorbachev, which appeared last week, is an example of looking ahead. Its philosophical message is that our complex and varied world is an integral whole. The fostering of contradictions, the dogmatizing and cultivation of differences are quite simply dangerous in this nuclear age of ours. It is only by joint effort that the world's problems can be solved for the benefit of the whole of mankind. This does not necessarily presuppose identity of views. It's simply that the solutions to these problems should be sought for the general weal rather than our conflicting interests in mind. What we have in common should take precedence over our differences!

This is the point of departure where new thinking - characterized primarily by humanism and democratism - begins. The best policy to be pursued today is glasnost, i.e., heeding the voice of the man in the street, popular demands and grass-roots ideas. New thinking means the revival of humanity, common sense and elementary ethics.

We welcome the Soviet-American understanding on the "double zero," which is of extraordinary importance in itself. It would be invaluable if the future agreement marked the first step towards the elimination of nuclear and space weapons.

The future we are waiting for is not terra incognita. Certain notions which have recently become current on the political scene may be of use in drawing up "charts" and "sailing directions." A non-nuclear and non-violent world...An all-embracing international security system... Disarmament for development... Conversion to peaceful uses... Reasonable military sufficiency... These innovative ideas require thorough study and analysis, and new ones may well be on the way.

Our correspondents have reported on the joint experiments by Soviet and U.S. seismologists in Karkaralinsk as part of building up a future free of nuclear blasts, and on projects like Bridges for Peace. We are convinced that there is limitless scope for such joint ventures of benefit to all mankind, and we look forward to more.

Our magazine is introducing a new subject heading, MAN AND THE FUTURE.

New thinking is not a dogma, but an imperative of our time, not a privilege of the select few, but a condition of continued life on earth. We invite our readers to contribute to a dialogue. Under our new subject heading we shall carry all kinds of contributions, ranging from philosophical essays to concrete proposals.

New ideas wanted - conceptual, practical, "crazy." Let us think in concrete and realistic terms. And let's not be scared by the boldness of our own dreams!

Conversion. Is it possible? This is the theme of the first set of articles to appear under our new rubric (see p. 8).

REALITY AND GUARANTEES FOR A SECURE WORLD

MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

The 42nd session of the United Nations General Assembly opened a few days ago. That fact has prompted this article.

Objective processes are making our complex and varied world more and more interrelated and interdependent. And it stands increasingly in need of a mechanism capable of responsibly discussing common problems at a representative level. It needs to be a place of mutual quest for a balance of the differing, contradictory, yet real, interests of the contemporary community of states and nations. The United Nations Organization is called upon to be such a mechanism by its underlying idea of its origin. We are confident that it is capable of fulfilling that role. This is why in the first days of autumn, when the holiday period is over and international political life is rapidly gathering momentum, when an opportunity for important decisions in the field of disarmament can be discerned, we in the Soviet leadership have deemed it useful to share our ideas on the basic issues of world politics at the end of the 20th century. This seems all the more appropriate in that the current session of the U.N. General Assembly is devoted to major aspects of such politics.

It is natural that what we would like to do first of all in this connection is to try and see for ourselves what the idea of a **comprehensive system of international security** - the idea advanced at the 27th CPSU Congress - looks like 18 months after the congress. This idea has won backing from many states. Our friends - the socialist countries and members of the non-aligned movement - are active coauthors.

This article deals primarily with our approach to the formation of such a system. At the same time it is an invitation for the U.N. member countries and the world public to exchange views.

I

The last quarter of the 20th century has brought changes in the material aspect of being - changes revolutionary in their content and significance. For the first time in its history mankind has become capable of resolving many problems that had hindered its progress for centuries. From the standpoint of the existing and newly created resources and technologies, there are no impediments to feeding a population of many billions, educating it, providing it with housing and keeping it healthy. Allowing for the obvious differences and potentials of the various peoples and countries, the prospect has formed of appropriate living conditions for all the inhabitants of the earth.

At the same time, dangers have emerged which put into question the very survival of the human race. This is why new rules of coexistence on our unique planet are badly needed, rules of coexistence that should conform to the new requirements and the changed conditions.

Alas, many influential forces continue to adhere to outdated notions concerning ways of ensuring national security. As a result the world is in an absurd situation whereby persistent efforts are being made to convince it that the road to the abyss is the most correct one. It would be difficult to appraise in any other way the point of view that nuclear weapons make it possible to avert world war. This is not easy to refute, precisely because it is totally unfounded. For one has to dispute something which is being passed off as axiomatic: as no world war has broken out since the emergence of nuclear weapons, those weapons have averted it. It would seem more correct to say that world war has been averted despite the existence of nuclear weapons.

Some time ago the sides had several dozen atomic bombs apiece, then each came to possess a hundred nuclear missiles, and, finally, the arsenals grew to several thousand nuclear warheads. Not so long ago Soviet and American scientists made a special study of the issue of the relationship between strategic stability and the size of nuclear arsenals. They arrived at the unanimous conclusion that 95 per cent of all U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms could be eliminated without stability being disrupted. This is a lethal argument against the strategy of "nuclear deterrence" that gives birth to such mad logic. We believe that the 5 per cent should not be retained either. And then the stability will be qualitatively different.

Without laying claims to instructing anyone, and having come to realize that mere statements about the dangerous situation in the world are unproductive, we began to seek an answer to the question of whether it is possible today to find a model for ensuring national security which is not fraught with the threat of a worldwide catastrophe.

Such an approach was central to the concepts formed as part of new political thinking, permeated as it is with a realistic view of what surrounds us and what is happening about us; this view is characterized by an unbiased attitude to others and awareness of our own responsibility and security.

The new thinking is bridging the gap between word and deed. And we have embarked on practical action. Convinced that nuclear weapons are the greatest evil and pose the most terrible threat, we announced a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing which we observed, to put it bluntly, for longer than we might have done... Then came the January 15, 1986, statement, putting forward a concrete programme for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons. At the meeting with President Reagan in Reykjavik, we came close to realizing the desirability and possibility of complete nuclear disarmament. And then we took steps to facilitate an approach to an agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear arms - medium- and shorter-range missiles.

We believe this to be possible and realistic. In this connection I should like to note that the government of Federal Germany has assumed a stand to some extent conducive to this. The Soviet Union

is proceeding from the premise that an appropriate treaty could be worked out before the end of the current year. Much has been said about its potential advantages. I will not repeat them. I should only like to note that it would deal a tangible blow at concepts of a limited use of nuclear weapons and the so-called "controllable escalation" of a nuclear conflict. There are no illusory intermediate options. The situation is becoming more stable.

A treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles would be a fine prelude to a breakthrough at the talks on large-scale - 50 per cent - reductions in **strategic offensive arms in conditions of the strict observance of the ABM treaty.** I believe that, given the mutual will, an accord on the issue could become a reality as early as in the first half of next year.

While thinking of advancing towards a nuclear weapon-free world, it is essential to ensure even now that security be guaranteed in the process of disarmament, at each of its stages,and to think not only about that, but also to agree on mechanisms for maintaining peace at drastically reduced levels of **non-nuclear armaments.**

All these questions were included in proposals set forth jointly by the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries at the United Nations - proposals for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international peace and security.

How do we see it?

The security plan proposed by us provides, above all, for continuity, and concord with the existing institutions for the maintenance of peace. The system could function on the basis of the U.N. Charter and within the framework of the United Nations. In our view, its ability to function will be ensured by the strict observance of the Charter's demands, and additional unilateral obligations on the part of states, as well as by confidence measures and international cooperation in all spheres - politico-military, economic, ecological, humanitarian and others.

I do not venture to predict how the system of all-embracing security would appear in its final form. It is clear only that it could become a reality solely if all means of mass destruction were destroyed. We propose that all this be considered by an independent commission of experts and specialists, which would submit its conclusions to the United Nations Organization.

Personally, I have no doubt about the ability of sovereign states to assume obligations in the field of international security straight away. Many states are already doing so. The Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China have stated that they will not be the first to use nuclear arms. The Soviet-American agreements on nuclear armaments are another example. They contain a conscious choice of restraint and self-limitation in the most sensitive sphere of relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States. Or take the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. What is it? It is a unique example of a high sense of responsibility on the part of states.

In present-day circumstances the "bricks" already exist from which to start building the future system of security.

The reasonable, responsible and rational organization of international affairs is expanding before our very eyes, though admittedly timidly. Previously unknown standards of openness, of scope and depth for the mutual monitoring and verification of compliance with adopted obligations are being established. An American inspection team has visited an area where Soviet troop exercises were held; a group of U.S. congressmen has inspected the Krasnoyarsk radar station; American scientists are installing and adjusting instruments in the area of the Soviet nuclear test range. Soviet and American observers are present at each other's military exercises. Annual plans for military activity are published under accords within the framework of the Helsinki process.

I do not know of a weightier or more impressive argument in support of the fact that the situation is changing than the stated readiness of a nuclear power voluntarily to renounce nuclear weapons. References to an aspiration to replace them with conventional armaments in which there supposedly exists an imbalance between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in the latter's favour are unjustified. If an imbalance, or disproportion exists, let us remove it. We do not tire of saying this continually, and we have proposed concrete ways of solving this problem.

In all these issues the Soviet Union is a pioneer and demonstrates that its words are matched by deeds.

The question of comparing defence spending? Here we will have to put in more work. I think that, given proper effort, within the next two or three years we will be able to compare the figures that are of interest to us and our partners and which would symmetrically reflect the expenditures of the sides.

The Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space arms, and a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons which is close to being concluded will intensify, I am sure, the advance to détente and disarmament.

An accord on "defence strategy" and "military sufficiency" could impart a powerful impulse in this direction. These notions presuppose such a structure for the armed forces of a state for them to be enough to repulse any possible aggression, but to be inadequate for the conduct of offensive actions. The first step towards this could be the controlled withdrawal of nuclear and other offensive weapons from borders with the subsequent creation along these borders of strips of rarefied armaments and demilitarized zones between potential, to put it this way, adversaries, while in principle we should work for the dissolution of military blocs, the liquidation of bases on foreign territory and the return home of all troops stationed abroad.

The question of a possible mechanism to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear conflict is more complex. Here I approach the most sensitive point of the idea of all-embracing security: much will have to be additionally considered, rethought and improved. In any case, the international community should work out agreed upon measures in the event of a violation of the all-embracing agreement on the non-use and elimination of nuclear arms or an attempt to violate this agreement. As for potential nuclear piracy, it appears possible and necessary to consider in advance and prepare collective measures to prevent it.

If the system is sufficiently effective, then it will moreover provide effective guarantees for averting and curbing non-nuclear aggression.

The system we propose presupposes definite measures to enable the United Nations Organization, the main universal security body, to ensure that it is maintained at a reliable level.

II.

The division of the countries of the world into those possessing nuclear weapons and those not possessing them has also split the very concept of security. But for humanity security is indivisible. In this sense it is not only a political, military, and juridical category but also a moral one. And contentions that there has been no war for half a century do not stand up to any test on the touchstone of ethics. In what sense has there been no war? There are dozens of regional wars throughout the world!

It is immoral to treat this as something of secondary importance. The point, though, does not lie solely in inadmissible nuclear conceit. The elimination of nuclear weapons would also be a major step towards a genuine democratization of relations between states as equal and bearing equal responsibility.

Unconditional observance of the U.N. Charter and the right of peoples sovereignly to choose the courses and forms of their development, revolutionary or evolutionary, is an imperative condition for universal security. This also applies to the right to a social status-quo which is exclusively an internal matter. Any attempts, direct or indirect, to influence the development of countries "other than our own," to interfere in such development, should be ruled out. Equally inadmissible are attempts to destabilize existing governments from outside.

At the same time the world community cannot remain aloof from interstate conflicts. Here it could be possible to begin by

implementing the proposal put forward by the U.N. Secretary-General to set up under the United Nations Organization a multilateral centre for reducing the danger of war. Evidently, it would be feasible to consider the expediency of setting up a direct line of communication between the U.N. headquarters and the capitals of the countries that are permanent members of the Security Council, and the seat of the chairman of the non-aligned movement.

It appears to us that, with the aim of greater trust and mutual understanding, a mechanism could be set up under the aegis of the U.N. for the extensive international verification of compliance with agreements to reduce international tension and limit armaments, and to monitor the military situation in conflict areas. The mechanism would function via various forms and methods of monitoring to collect information and promptly submit it to the U.N. This would provide an objective picture of the events taking place, make possible the timely detection of preparations for hostilities, impede a covert attack, take measures to avert any armed conflict, and prevent such a conflict from expanding and intensifying.

We are coming to the conclusion that wider use should be made of the institution of U.N. military observers and U.N. peace-keeping forces in disengaging the troops of warring sides, and observing cease-fire and armistice agreements.

And, of course, at all stages of a conflict, extensive use should be made of every means for the peaceful settlement of disputes and differences between states, and good offices and mediation should be offered with the aim of achieving an armistice. The ideas and initiatives concerning non-government commissions and groups to analyze the causes, circumstances and methods of resolving various concrete conflict situations appear to be fruitful.

The Security Council's permanent members could be guarantors of regional security. They could, for their part, assume an obligation not to use force or the threat of force, and could renounce a conspicuous military presence, as this is one of the factors that fan regional conflicts.

A drastic intensification and expansion of cooperation between states in eradicating international terrorism is extremely important. It would be expedient to concentrate this cooperation within the framework of the United Nations Organization. In our opinion, it would be useful to create under its aegis a tribunal to investigate acts of international terrorism.

More coordination in the struggle against apartheid as a destabilizing factor of international magnitude would also be justified.

As we see it, all the above-stated measures could be organically built into an all-embracing system for peace and security.

III.

The events and tendencies of recent decades have expanded this concept, imparting new features and characteristics to it. One of them is the problem of economic security. A world in which a whole continent can find itself on the brink of death from starvation and in which huge masses of people suffer almost permanent malnutrition is not a safe world. Neither can a world be safe in which a multitude of countries and peoples are being strangled in a noose of debt.

The economic interests of individual countries or groups of countries are indeed so different and contradictory that consensus with regard to the concept of a new world economic order seems hard to achieve. We do hope, however, that the instinct for self-preservation will come into action here as well. It is sure to manifest itself if the possibility arises of looking into the chain of priorities and seeing that there are circumstances that are menacing in their inevitability, and that it is time to abandon an inert political mentality inherited from past views of the outside world. This world has ceased to be a sphere divided by the big and strong into domains and zones of "vital interests."

The imperatives of the times compel us to institutionalize many notions of common sense. It is not philanthropy which prompted our proposal for a reduction in interest payments on bank credicts and the elaboration of additional benefits for the least developed nations. This is beneficial for all, for it promises a secure future. If the burden of debt of the developing world is alleviated, the chances of such a future will grow. It is also possible to limit debt payments by each developing country in proportion to its annual export earnings without detriment to development; accept export commodities in repayment of the debt; remove protectionist barriers on the borders of creditor nations; and stop adding extra interest when deferring repayments on debts.

There may be different attitudes to these proposals. There is no doubt, however, that the majority of members of the international community realize the need for immediate action to ease the developing world's debt burden. If that is so, it is possible to start working out a programme through concerted effort.

The words "through concerted effort" are very important for today's world. The relationship between disarmament and development, confirmed at the recent international conference in New York, can be implemented if none of the strong and the rich hold themselves aloof. I have already expressed the view that the Security Council member states, represented by their most high-ranking officials, could jointly discuss this problem and work out a coordinated approach. I confirm this proposal.

Ecological security. There is no security in the ordinary sense of the word when currents of poison flow along river channels, poisonous rains pour from the sky, an atmosphere polluted with industrial and transport waste chokes cities and whole regions, and the development of atomic engineering is justified by unacceptable risks.

Many have suddenly begun to perceive all this not as something abstract, but as a very real part of their own experience. The confidence that "this won't affect us," characteristic of the past, has disappeared. They say that one thorn of experience is worth more than a whole wood of instructions. For us, Chernobyl was such a thorn...

The relationship between man and the environment has become menacing. Problems of ecological security affect all - rich and poor alike. What is required is a global strategy for environmental protection and the rational use of resources. We suggest starting to elaborate it within the framework of the U.N. special programme.

States are already exchanging relevant information and notifying international organizations of developments. We believe that this order should be legitimatized by introducing the principle of annual reports by governments on their conservationist activity and ecological accidents, both those that have already occurred and those that were prevented, on the territory of their countries.

Realizing the need to open up the necessary common front of economic and ecological security and start to form it, mean defusing a time bomb planted at the very heart of man's existence by history, by people themselves.

IV.

Human rights. One can name all the top statesmen of our times who have threatened to use nuclear weapons. Some may object that it is one thing to threaten and another to use. Indeed, they haven't used them. But campaigning for human rights is in no way compatible with the threat to use weapons of mass destruction. We hold it unacceptable to talk about human rights and liberties while intending to hang the "chandeliers" of exotic weapons over our heads in outer space. The only down-to-earth element in that "exoticism" is the threat of mankind's annihilation. The rest is mere wrapping.

I agree: the world cannot be considered secure if human rights are violated in it. I will only add: if a large part of this world has not the elementary conditions for a life worthy of man, if millions of people have a full "right" to go hungry, have no roofs over their heads and to be jobless and sick indefinitely when treatment is something they cannot afford, if, finally, the most basic human right, the right to live, is disregarded.

First of all, it is necessary that national legislation and

administrative rules in the humanitarian sphere everywhere be brought into accordance with international obligations and standards.

Simultaneously, it would be possible to start coordinating a broad range of practical steps, for instance, to work out a world information programme under the auspices of the U.N. to familiarize peoples with each other's way of life, as it is and not as some would like to present it. That is precisely why such a project should envisage ridding the flow of information of "enemy image" stereotypes, of bias, prejudices and absurd concoctions, the deliberate distortion and unscrupulous violation of the truth.

There is much promise in the task of coordinating unified international legal criteria to bring a humanitarian spirit to bear in handling issues of reuniting families, marriages, contacts between people and organizations, visa regulations and so on. What has been achieved on this score within the framework of the all-European process should be accepted as a starting point.

We favour the establishment of a special United Nations fund for humanitarian cooperation formed from voluntary state and private contributions through a reduction in military spending.

It is advisable that all states accede to the UNESCO conventions in the sphere of culture, including the conventions on the protection of the world cultural heritage, and the prohibition and prevention of the illicit import, export and transfer of ownership of cultural property.

The alarm signals of recent times have pushed to the top of the agenda the idea of creating a worldwide network of medical cooperation in treating most dangerous diseases, including AIDS, and combating drug addiction and alcoholism. The existing structures of the World Health Organization make it possible to establish such a network at relatively short notice. The leaders of the world movement of physicians have substantial ideas on this score.

Dialogue on humanitarian problems could be conducted on a bilateral basis, within the forms of negotiation that have already been established. Moreover, we propose holding such dialogue within the framework of an international conference in Moscow: we made that proposal at the Vienna meeting in November last year.

Pooling efforts in the sphere of culture, medicine and humanitarian rights is yet another integral part of the system of comprehensive security.

V.

The suggested systems of comprehensive security will be effective to the extent to which the U.N., its Security Council and other international institutes and mechanisms function effectively. It will be necessary to enhance resolutely the authority and role of the U.N., and the International Atomic Energy Agency. The need for a world space organization is clear. It could work in the future in close contact with the U.N. as an autonomous part of its system. U.N. specialized agencies should also be regulators of international processes. The Geneva Conference on Disarmament should be a forum that would internationalize the transition to a nuclear-free non-violent world.

Nor should one forget the potential of the International Court. The General Assembly and the Security Council could approach it more often for consultative judgements on international disputes. Its mandatory jurisdiction should be recognized by all on mutually agreed conditions. The permanent members of the Security Council, taking into account their special responsibility, are to make the first step in that direction.

We are convinced that a comprehensive system of security is at the same time a system of universal law and order ensuring the primacy of international law in politics.

The U.N. Charter gives extensive powers to the Security Council. Joint efforts are required to ensure that it uses them effectively. For this purpose, it would make sense to hold meetings of the Security Council at foreign ministers' level when opening a regular session of the General Assembly to review the international situation and look jointly for effective ways towards its improvement.

It would be useful to hold meetings of the Security Council not only at the headquarters of the U.N. in New York, but also in regions of friction and tension, and alternate them among the capitals of the permanent member states.

Special missions of the Council to regions of actual and potential conflict would also help consolidate its authority and enhance the effectiveness of the decisions adopted.

We are convinced that cooperation between the U.N. and regional organizations could be considerably expanded. The aim is to search for a political settlement to crisis situations.

In our view, it is important to hold special sessions of the General Assembly on the more urgent political problems and individual disarmament issues more often if the efficiency of its work is to be improved.

We emphatically stress the need to make the status of important political documents passed at the United Nations by consensus more binding morally and politically. Let me recall that they include, among others, the final document of the 1st special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament, and the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States.

In our opinion, we should long since have set up a world consultative council under the auspices of the U.N. to bring together the world's intellectual elite. Prominent scientists, political and public figures, representatives of international public organizations, cultural workers, people in literature and the arts, including winners of the Nobel Prize and other international prizes of worldwide significance, and eminent representatives of the churches could considerably enrich the spiritual and ethical potential of contemporary world politics.

To ensure that the U.N. and its specialized agencies operate to full capacity one should come to realize that it is inadmissible to use financial levers to put pressure on it. The Soviet Union will continue to cooperate actively in overcoming budget difficulties arising at the U.N.

And, finally, to the U.N. Secretary-General. The international community elects an authoritative figure to enjoy everybody's trust in that high post. Since the Secretary-General functions as a representative of every member country of the organization, all states should give him the maximum support and help him in fulfilling his demanding and responsible mission. The international community should encourage the U.N. Secretary-General in his missions of good will, mediation and reconciliation.

✦

Why are we so persistent in raising the question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security?

Simply because it is impossible to tolerate the situation in which the world has found itself as the third millennium approaches - facing the threat of annihilation, in a state of constant tension, an atmosphere of suspicion and strife, spending huge sums and quantities of work and talent by millions of people only to increase mutual distrust and fear.

We could speak endlessly of the need to terminate the arms race and eradicate militarism, or about cooperation. Nothing will change unless we start to act.

The political and moral core of the problem is the trust of states and peoples in each other, and respect for international agreements and institutions. And we are prepared to switch from confidence measures in individual spheres to a large-scale policy of trust which would gradually grow into a system of comprehensive security. But such a policy should be based on community of political statements and real positions.

The idea of a comprehensive system of security is the initial plan for a possible new organization of life in our common planetary home. In other words, it is a pass to a future where security for all is security for each. We hope that the current session of the U.N. General Assembly will jointly develop this idea and put it into effect.

Pravda, September 17, 1987. In full

The Rubicon ahead

Soviet-U.S. talks: better progress than expected.

Signing an accord to reduce the risk of nuclear war.
TASS photo

GENNADY GERASIMOV

This was the seventh meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Schultz. At a State Department luncheon, the Soviet guest recalled a Russian saying: "Measure seven times before cutting." There is a time to tend the shoots of mutual understanding and a time to reap the harvest. The first harvest was reaped in Washington, when the sides agreed, in principle, to eliminate medium-range and shorter-range missiles.

Only the day before the media were featuring the issue of American warheads for West German missiles. And now an artificial barrier has been removed, and the sides have found a compromise solution which casts aside considerations of prestige to ensure that the "global double zero" is just that.

There was an expected success when an accord on centres for reducing the nuclear danger was signed in the rose garden at the White House.

But the main success came as a surprise, and it is a measure of the distance covered during the talks.

It was a marathon, with the experts burning the midnight oil and the two negotiators spending hours in face to face discussions.

Two meetings with the President and a lunch at the White House marked a departure from protocol apparently intended as a show of good will. Some American observers attributed it to what they call "Nancyism" referring to the fact that Nancy Reagan would like her husband to go down in history as a peacemaker. Other observers point out that the President needs a foreign policy success against the background of difficulties on the home front, notably the Iran-contra affair. Others again add that such a success would "slow the process of lame-duckism" (a "lame-duck" president is a president whose time of office is running out). It is true that the President is concerned to strengthen the Republican Party's standing at the next presidential election. However, it seems to me that a weightier reason is the change of mood in the American public. The President prefers to swim with, and not against, the tide of public opinion. It has been reported that on the eve of the negotiations he rejected the proposals of Defence Secretary Weinberger aimed at wrecking the talks. One such proposal was to keep the missiles for other requirements.

Not the least important reason for the change of heart in America is the internal perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union. They are tending to erode "the enemy image." Even washing our dirty linen in public serves a useful purpose, as Americans are able to see that our society has problems comparable with their own. So we are not becoming worse than we are, but are easier to understand. When reminded of his phrase about the "empire of evil," the President replied that he still did not think that our country was "lily-white." We do not need to be told that. But we also know that America is in no sense a "shining city on the Hill." Secretary of State Shultz admitted that human rights was a "two-way street."

The change in public feeling was probably the main reason for the change of mood in the U.S. administration. Mikhail Gorbachev's article in the newspaper Pravda was a timely and important document, setting out as it did the Soviet interpretation of contemporary political reement on the elimination of medium- and a shorter-range missiles and on a possible 50 per cent cut in strategic offensive weapons.

The Foreign Minister and the Secretary of State have agreed to start full-scale negotiations to ban nuclear weapon tests. Unfortunately, the U.S. administration still believes that tests are necessary for as long as nuclear weapons exist. However, the mass media and the public rightly focussed on the prospects for nuclear disarmament.

What are the prospects?

The critics of the proposed agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles, who are a clear minority, argue that it leads in the wrong direction by allegedly perpetuating the existing imbalance in nuclear and conventional weapons. This is the view taken by Les Aspin, Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, who declared that a "slow step in the wrong direction" has been taken. The New York Post blossomed with the headline, "The United States Licks Red Boots."

The Secretary of State replied to his critics by saying that they had got their sums wrong, as the Soviet Union was eliminating many more missiles than the United States. The President very appropriately recalled the NATO's "double-track" decision.

Even so, observer George Will and others are demanding "compensatory measures." Their reasoning contains a paradoxical element of logic. The United States has unilaterally abandoned the restrictions imposed by SALT-2, so the U.S.S.R. has every right to renounce these restrictions too. Theoretically, it can build more intercontinental ballistic missiles, targeting them on the same objectives in Europe as the soon-to-be-destroyed missiles are aimed at today. It's six of one and half a dozen of the other.

This criticism, however, ignores the intentions of the sides, which are committed to working hard on a treaty to cut strategic offensive weapons by half. Mikhail Gorbachev feels that, given mutual commitment, an agreement to that effect could be a reality in the first half of 1988.

There are more than a few differences on sub-levels, weapon-counting systems, and the procedure for counting warheads, whether to ban mobile IBMs and so on. But the main thing is that just as the former treaty is inadequate without the latter (Will's argument) so the latter treaty is inadequate without the guaranteed preservation of the 1972 ABM treaty.

A member of the Soviet delegation used the metaphor of a marriage contract. The sides agree to enter upon a marriage (agreement to limit strategic weapons), but reserve the right to annul the marriage in the event of infidelity (withdrawal from the ABM treaty), or they can agree to draw up a list of kinds of behaviour (steps in the field of "star wars") to be regarded as exceeding the limits of permissible flirtation.

Perhaps it is not a perfect comparison, but it is certainly a vivid one. To reduce armaments on earth while accumulating them in space means upsetting strategic stability.

Almost simultaneously with the talks, Defence Secretary Weinberger hastily okayed preliminary "demonstration and checking" tests of six space weapon systems. The timing is clearly designed to stress the administration's unchanged attitude to the "star wars" programme. The commitment was reiterated by both Reagan and Shultz. At the same time, Pentagon officials claim that the proposed experiments can be held without violating the ABM treaty.

On the other hand, on September 17, the U.S. Senate adopted an amendment (by 58 votes to 38) to the military budget for 1988 and 1989 which would limit tests under the Strategic Defence Initiative to a strict interpretation of the ABM treaty.

Inside the U.S., discussion continues over "star wars." Hopefully, the proposed steps towards nuclear disarmament, if they materialize, will weaken the hand of the programme's advocates: why building a defence against missiles if the sides are moving towards eliminating them?

Looking ahead, observers are discussing the positions of the Senators who are to ratify the future treaty. As things stand, about 20 Senators out of 100 may vote against, but if their number rises to 34 (a third of the Senate), the treaty will be defeated. As The Washington Post said on September 19, those it had managed to interview in Congress did not directly oppose ratification, but most had reservations. These reservations are sure to provoke arguments in the future.

Meanwhile, most Americans welcome the results of the talks in Washington as a step towards crossing the Rubicon beyond which real nuclear disarmament will begin, and are hoping for an early summit meeting.

Washington

Centres to reduce the risk of nuclear war

These centres, to be set up in Moscow and Washington, are intended for the transfer of information on military activities that could be misinterpreted by the other side. The centres, however, are not to serve as a substitute for the hot line between the two capitals.

Initially, the centres will confine themselves to the modest function of exchanging notifications of test ballistic missile launchings in good time, within the framework of the Soviet-American agreements already in force. For instance, ships are to be warned, three to five days in advance, of naval actions dangerous to sea- and aircraft.

The agreement does not rule out the practice of Moscow and Washington exchanging other kinds of information through the centres as a gesture of good will with a view to building confidence between them. This information may include flashes on emergencies involving the likelihood of nuclear weapon, nuclear warhead, or nuclear missile carrier explosions, as well as on other incidents which might create the danger of a nuclear war breaking out. As new arms limitation agreements are reached, the centres are to expand their functions.

Information is to be exchanged via satellite channels. The communication system is to employ uniform equipment and identical operation, maintenance and personnel training procedures. Representatives of the centres are to meet regularly to discuss problems connected with the functioning of the system and with the improvement of its communication favilities.

VITALY LIKHOVID

The parliamentary election in Denmark has brought about hardly any changes. The Prime Minister is once again the Conservative leader Poul Schlüter

Political instability remains

Things began to develop as if in a tale of political intrigue. Capitalizing on the strike called by the computer information bank operators on August 18, Prime Minister Poul Schlüter called an emergency meeting of the Folketing and took the opposition by surprise by announcing preterm parliamentary election. The second surprise for Danes enjoying their summer holidays was the unusually short time allotted for the election campaign, a mere three weeks. In his statement Schlüter said the reason for the haste was that an election was due in any case in January 1988 and a long campaign would make the work of the national assembly in the autumn extremely difficult. "Besides," he added, "there will be less time for mud slinging."

Strength of the minority

Schlüter's tactical manoeuvres met with the approval of the bourgeois coalition made up of four political parties: the Conservative People's Party, the Left Liberal Party (Venstre), the Christian People's Party and the Centre Democrats. Having no serious election platform, the "four-petal" cabinet made up its mind to carry out a political blitzkrieg against its major political opponent, the Social Democratic Party, which is loosing its popularity and having internal problems. The leader of the Social Democrats, Anker Joergensen, was on holiday in Bulgaria, and the powerful party machine was in a state of summer inactivity. The Social Democrats' party conference scheduled for September 5 in fact ended in fiasco: it turned into a rushed affair whose participants couldn't wait to leave.

To add to the Social Democrats' difficulties, they could not wholeheartedly criticize the economic policy pursued by the cabinet, because to a large extent this policy tallies with the ideas of the Social Democratic leaders as to how to lift the country out of its financial and tax crises. Joergensen, who five years ago voluntarily and "temporarily" bowed out in Schlüter's favour so that the latter could carry out the austerity policy, had trouble explaining to the electorate why the bourgeois coalition, while pursuing "the wrong policies," had been able to remain in office for so long. The pre-election public opinion polls persistently showed that the Social Democratic Party was losing in popularity, and "the four-petal" coalition had a good chance of consolidating its parliamentary ground.

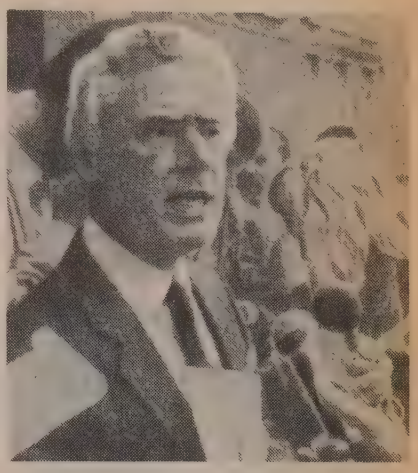
This was highly desirable as Schlüter, despite his flair for political flexibility and compromise, had begun to loose patience. Whereas in the socio-economic field his cabinet, with the support of the Radical Liberal Party, was managing somehow or other, to push through its initiatives, where security was concerned the Radicals were siding with the Social Democrats and the Socialist People's Party to force the ruling coalition to accept resolutions running counter to the NATO line. Overall, the bourgeois government had found itself in the minority 55 times when questions were put to the vote in the Folketing.

First and foremost, Danes are worried by the economic situation. Over the five years of its existence the "four-petal" coalition has been unable to seriously improve the state of affairs. Despite the slightly improved economic situation in the West, the fall in oil prices and Denmark's growing self-sufficiency in energy, the country has failed to solve its major problem, that is, to free itself of, or at least, make itself less dependent on, foreign credits. The external debt has grown to reach 265 billion kroner. Denmark spends much more than it earns. And the bourgeois government itself, insisting on cutting back on all government expenditure except defence spending has failed to live up to its word as the government debt stands at 400 billion kroner. The situation in foreign trade is equally sorry: the balance-of--payment deficit works out at 30 billion kroner.

Football or the weather?

Yet Poul Schlüter has completely failed to rebuff criticism from the Social Democrats. Crediting the government with a better-balanced state budget last year, bringing the unemployment level down to 9 per cent and creating 200,000 jobs, he merely stated that under the Social Democratic government things had been even worse.

The Social Democratic leaders could not or did not want to take advantage of this to have a showdown with the bourgeois coalition. To all intents and purposes, the argument degenerated into hair-splitting. During the election campaign Anker



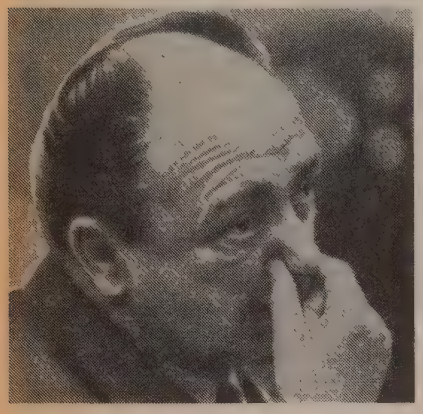
Poul Schlüter is again at the helm.

Joergensen often let his opponent evade burning isues in the economic field. Yet he made good use of arguments that have nothing to do with kroner or percentages. "The weather was better when the Social Democrats were in power," he pointed out at the meeting on a rainy day. "But Denmark now has a better footbal team," parried Schlüter. Such digs at each other reveal more than merely the Danish predilection for humour. The leaders of the two major parties find it difficult to explain to the electorate where their stands differ on socio-economic issues. Observers point out that the bourgeois coalition has not been sticking to purely "bourgeois" policies but has in some respects followed Social Democratic principles. On the other hand, the Social Democrats assumed a distinctly "bourgeois" hue when they discussed tax and budget problems.

Meanwhile, in the sphere of security, the parties are as far apart as ever. The Social Democratic Party supported by the People's Socialists, Radicals and left-wing Socialists, continued to discomfit the Schlüter cabinet with their backing for nuclear disarmament and non-militarization of outer space agreements, and other military and political issues. It was the "anti-missile" majority in the Folketing that sparked off a more vigorous debate on the idea of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. The interest in strengthening international and especially European security naturally goes hand in hand with a critical approach to the most odious measures and plans on the part of NATO and the U.S.

Suddenly, Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen made up his mind to attack the generally held opinion that Denmark must exert its influence and work for the elimination of the West German Pershing 1A missiles. This blunder further damaged

his already shaky reputation as a few days later F.R.G. Chancellor Helmut Kohl made his now famous statement on the missiles. The new Venstre party leader, who for the first time headed the party's election campaign, thus did himself a great deal of harm, but this did not deter him and he went ahead and took an active part in the campaign. Ellemann-Jensen called on the government to reject "a romantic recognition of a North European nuclear-free



Anker Joergensen steps down as the Social Democrats' leader.

Photos from Dagens Nyheter (Sweden)

zone," though the majority of Danes support the idea, and also described as "ordinary tourists" the two Danish reserve officers imprisoned for espionage against Poland who have confessed links with Danish Intelligence.

The errors in the minister's "diplomatic style" have proved costly to the party, which has fallen off in popularity among the farmers, who traditionally support it, because of their objection to the EEC's agricultural policy. To cap it all, Denmark is to chair the EEC bodies until the end of this year. As chairman, Denmark has not chalked up many points, apart from the fact that Ellemann-Jensen has been awarded the Robert Schuman Prize for his contribution to "European unity and cooperation." Danes nonetheless respond keenly to decisions made in Brussels, as not infrequently the interests of little Denmark are ignored.

The Radicals tipped the balance

The "four-petal" coalition has suffered grave losses, winning only 70 seats instead of 77. The Conservatives have lost four seats, the Venstre party three, and the Christian People's Party one, while the Centre Democrats have gained a seat. Poul Schlüter dissolved the government, and a few days later, the Queen requested him to form a new cabinet. But now, to have a majority in the Folketing, he needs the support not only of the Radicals (11 seats) but also of the extreme right-wing Progress Party (9 seats). However, the chairman of the parliamentary Radical Liberal Party Niels Helveg Petersen has refused to cooperate with the Progress Party, whose leader Mogens Glistrup is again party leader after serving a prison term for financial and tax machinations.

The Social Democratic Party is also in difficulties. Having gained 54 seats, the Social Democrats are still the largest parliamentary group in the Folketing.But, having lost two seats, they could not, as Joergensen hoped, form "a red cabinet" consisting of Social Democrats and members of the Socialist People's Party, though the latter has increased its representation in the Folketing and now has 27 seats. Therefore, to gain a safe majority, Joergensen needed the support of the Radicals. The Radical Liberal Party turned out to be the small weight which could tip the balance in favour of either the Schlüter or the Joergensen coalition. After some wavering, the Radicals opted to support Schlüter.

Having assessed the situation, the Social Democratic leader shortly afterwards resigned from the post of party leader, justifying his move by saying that under his leadership the party had twice in succession failed to regain office.

So, the election has taken place, and the government has been formed from the same parties as before, but political stability has not been achieved. The position of the "four-petal" cabinet is far from strong.

ALEXANDER POLYUKHOV
our own correspondent

Copenhagen

Stock exchanges feverish

IT LOOKS AS IF THE JOINT SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND THE INTERNATIONAL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (IMF-IBRD), WHICH OPENED IN WASHINGTON A FEW DAYS AGO IS NOT GOING TO PROCEED AS SMOOTHLY AS LAST YEAR.

This is suggested by the steady decline of the U.S. dollar and the unpredictability of Washington's cnediting and trade policy.

Since 1985 the Americans have been consistently pushing the dollar down in the hope of making U.S. exports more competitive and eventually reducing the country's trade and payments deficits (which amounted to 169 and 141 billion dollars respectively last year). Over the past two and a half years the dollar has fallen by almost 50 per cent against other Western currencies, with, however, U.S. foreign trade benefiting little from this. At a preliminary estimate, the 1987 deficits are to beat last year's highs. This is fraught with the danger of Congress imposing porotectionist restrictions on U.S. imports, which will have an adverse effect on the whole of international trade.

In order to arrest the fall of the dollar, the Board of the Federal Reserve System (FRS) raised the bank loan interest rate by half a per cent early in September. This measure has failed to reassure currency exchanges, however. In the opinion of London's Financial Times, money changers are certian that the dollar will fall further sooner or later. The FRS will have to raise the loan interest rate still higher in an attempt to save it. This, in turn, may aggravate the situation in the American economy.

Combined with a low dollar exchange rate,the slackening of business activity is dangerous to the U.S., as it may check influx of foreign capital, which is already petering out.The U.S. has to draw at least 100 billion dollars a year from external sources in order to make up for the monetary shortage caused by another deficit - that of the federal budget. In short, the fate of the U.S. economy, which depends on imports to meet a quarter of the home market demand, is now linked up with unpredictable currency exchange rate fluctuations to a greater extent than ever. In the foreseeable future the dollar will remain the chief source of the instability besetting the West's currency and crediting system.

Under the circumstance, the Common Market financiers have been compelled to strengthen the European Currency System (ECS). Although at their "unofficial" meeting in Nyborg, Denmark, on September 12, the European Community's finance ministers took "purely technical" measures, the West European papers describe them, with good reason, as "the biggest ECS reform."

It is anybody's guess what effect all these currency troubles will have on the outcome of the IMF-IBRD session. So far, one thing is clear: neither Washington nor its leading Western partners are in a position to guarantee the stability of the international capitalist currency system.

ANDREI KUZIN

IS CONVERSION FROM MILITARY TO CIVILIAN PRODUCTION POSSIBLE?

Alexander Pauk, an engineer from Moscow, suggests a way of ridding the planet of the danger of nuclear catastrophe. In his letter he offers a beguilingly simple solution to the problem of disarmament. He is not sure that the military machine should be dismantled, and feels that it could be regeared to other tasks. Could this be the way to beat swords into ploughshares?

● **Should military production be switched to civilian production and, if so, how can this be achieved?**

● **What political, economic and social consequences can this have?**

● **Destroying some nuclear warheads and the means for their delivery is very necessary, but it is only a first step towards a world without weapons. The first step towards disarmament must be followed by new measures, economic as well as political.**

● **A joint research for agreed measures must start today.**

The relevance of these questions has prompted New Times to introduce the subject of conversion and to invite opinions from Soviet and foreign economists, political scientists and businessmen.

Alexander Pauk, an engineer from Moscow and our reader, believes that

The military should turn to other tasks

I think we approach the disarmament problem one-sidedly and overlook some of its features. What we need is not disarmament of the military, but their "rearmament" through a change in the objectives and tasks we set before them.

If I as a layman can clearly see that the SDI programme cannot fulfil the objectives proclaimed by the right-wing political leaders and mass media in the West, what is SDI for? The answer is clear. Its sole task is to preserve the political and economic influence of the military-industrial complex. To preserve jobs in industries and research centres involved in developing new types of weapon.

The problem of disarmament is further complicated by the existence of career soldiers who would have to change their sphere of activities and could lose some of their privileges. The progress of science and technology has increased labour productivity not only in the creation of material values but in the creation of means of destruction. This has brought about a qualitative change in the situation. Nothing can be resolved by military means, whose use would destroy all life on earth.

Our common task stemming from the new political thinking is to turn the military-industrial complex into an organization that ensures universal security. I think this is possible if it is regeared to other tasks. The military have expertise in planning and carrying out operations involving a concerted effort by large numbers of people and complex technology. They can quickly organize medical services for soldiers and civilians, and prevent contamination and epidemics as well.

The Chernobyl disaster has highlighted the role of the military in such cases. Without them the volcano of radioactive contamination could not have been contained so quickly, and radiation control and rescue work could not have been so effective. The Chernobyl disaster is not the only one of its kind on the planet. The recent poisoning of the Rhine by chemical waste was an equally large disaster. The military could therefore assume the role of protecting the environment against the hazards of industrialization.

They are already involved in dealing with the aftermath of earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, mud-and-stone floods and inundations. But they do it only sporadically and not all their potential is used. The dire consequences of such disasters call for specialized rescue work as help is needed in restoring industries and organizing medical aid.

Combating environmental pollution calls for constant monitoring of the atmosphere. This requires sets of instruments, means of transport, global monitoring and logistical planning. In short, highly specialized industrial organizations equipped with modern technology are required. The industry which caters to the military has accumulated great expertise in developing technology capable of operating in extreme situations, in conditions of widescale devastation and in various climates. It has experience in improving technology and can react flexibly and promptly to its progress.

The change of goals and tasks for the military-industrial complex would require some restructuring of military units and logistics. But the restructuring of the armed forces is something that takes place all the time and the proposed change of orientation would hardly present major technical difficulties. It seems to me that psychological reorientation may be a more difficult task due to the confrontation between military and political blocs.

Surely if we tackle the problem together we shall be able to formulate precise objectives and devise a concrete scheme to ensure that the military preserve their noble mission as guardians of our security.

Professor SEYMOUR MELMAN of the Columbia University (U.S.A.) believes that converting the munitions industry to civilian production comes up against

Political barriers

In 1980 I presented the paper on barriers to conversion from a military to civilian economy. The main conclusion is that wherever there is an established war industry it is accompanied by an ideology which claims that the military industry is good, necessary not only for military security but is also a factor in strengthening the civilian economy, creating jobs and developing advanced technology. In fact, the growth of military economy removes a considerable chunk from the national wealth. Moreover, it impedes the growth of labour productivity, especially in industry.

In 1965 I wrote that the institutions of the war economy sap the competence of other institutions in society. Today I am prepared to back up this thesis with many new facts. In principle military spending is justified by defence needs. Actually, in modern conditions, especially in the case of nuclear powers, defence does not exist. There exists a system of threat or deterrence, but not of defence, a "shield."

The other conclusion is that expanding the war economy absorbs more and more resources. For its part it dictates to the government and the whole of society a political course which guarantees that these resources are found.

The war economy needs political justification. The main justification which can gain public support is to state that all this is necessary for national security. Therefore threats to national security and international crises offer the most effective way of gaining political support for military expenditure and the military economy.

It is clear too that technical developments in the arms field have reached a level where the boundary between nuclear and conventional weapons is blurred. Some types of explosive are as effective as nuclear weapons. And nuclear weapons are becoming smaller and smaller in size. As an artillery officer during the second world war I can attest that the guns we used for conventional shells can now be used for nuclear ones. To me, the question of the survival of mankind is not confined to eliminating nuclear weapons. Expenditure on non-nuclear forces and technology is a major item in war budgets.

I welcome the essence of the proposals made by Mikhail Gorbachev in January 1986. In recent years representatives of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and some American scientists have been discussing similar ideas, notably, the 15-year plan to reverse the arms race both in the nuclear and non-nuclear fields. Why is this important?

We have to bear in mind that in a country with a large military-industrial complex the quality of civilian products is dramatically worsened. The gap between the desired state of the infrastructure - transport and energetics - and real demands is widening. The contrast has assumed incredible proportions in the U.S.A. I have calculated that it would take an indefinite time to make good the damage caused to the productive forces and the infrastructure of American society. I think another set of figures could say the same of the Soviet Union.

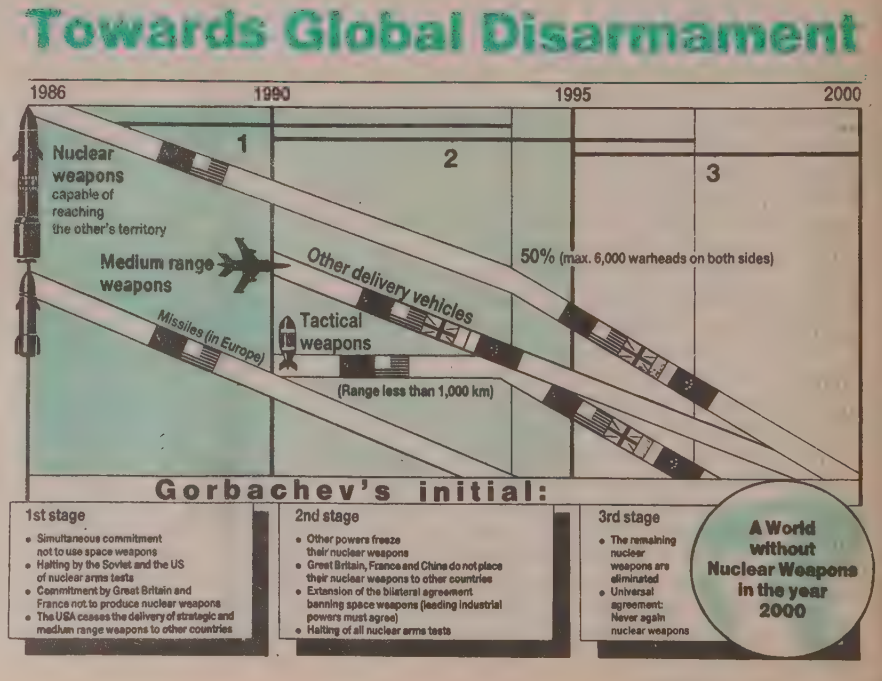
How to combat all this? For several years now some of my colleagues have been reflecting on ways to prepare to switch the economy to civilian needs in advance. In our opinion every munition factory and military laboratory and war base should set up committees to plan alternative uses for these organizations.

These should be backed up by other measures. The first is retraining engineers and technicians. The military industry operates without giving much thought to the cost of production. In the civilian economy they will have to be much more cost-conscious.

Second, there should be a retraining of the managerial staff. It is one thing when they work for a war ministry which guarantees marketing because the goods are sold before they are manufactured, and it is quite another to work in the civilian economy, where an item must meet the requirements of the population.

Third. Jobs should be provided for some administrators and engineers. The military-industrial complex uses them in numbers that are unnecessary in the civilian economy. So jobs would have to be prepared in which they could work on civilian projects. Money would be needed to support these workers because the nature of their jobs would change. Such are the practical measures needed to reorient the resources now used for creating the weapons of, say, "star wars."

This poster brought out by the World Peace Council in Helsinki recently is a graphic illustration of how the stage-by-stage nuclear arms reduction, proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev in January 1986, will make the world nuclear-free by the early 21st century.


Towards Global Disarmament
1986
1990
1995
2000
1
2
3
Nuclear weapons capable of reaching the other's territory
Medium range weapons
Missiles (in Europe)
Other delivery vehicles
50% (max. 6,000 warheads on both sides)
Tactical weapons
(Range less than 1,000 km)
Gorbachev's initial:
1st stage
Simultaneous commitment not to use space weapons
Halting by the Soviet and the US of nuclear arms tests
Commitment by Great Britain and France not to produce nuclear weapons
The USA ceases the delivery of strategic and medium range weapons to other countries
2nd stage
Other powers freeze their nuclear weapons
Great Britain, France and China do not place their nuclear weapons to other countries
Extension of the bilateral agreement banning space weapons (leading industrial powers must agree)
Halting of all nuclear arms tests
3rd stage
The remaining nuclear weapons are eliminated
Universal agreement: Never again nuclear weapons
A World without Nuclear Weapons in the year 2000

The main obstacle to conversion is the military-industrial complex. According to Soviet scholar NIKOLAI KARPUKHIN, to convert it is necessary

To change economic priorities

Arms manufacture is such a lucrative business that even a hint that an arms control agreement may be in the offing causes shock among arms-manufacturing tycoons.

Witness an article published shortly after the Reykjavik meeting in the respectable American journal Fortune under the revealing title, "The Real Cost of Disarmament." The magazine argues that disarmament American-style would enable the major suppliers to the Pentagon to launch the manufacture of new, more sophisticated and costly weapon systems.

The key role of SDI in the plans of the "death merchants" is due to the fact that current programmes for the production of "traditional" weapons (including nuclear) will have passed their peak in a few years' time. In this situation the "star wars" programme will help the military-industrial complex to keep industries and laboratories developing earth-based armaments loaded until the late 1980s and at the same time ensure a full order book of new space contracts for arms in the 1990s and the early 21st century. This was stated by American researchers from the Council on Economic Priorities.

Because such a justification of SDI cannot be sold to the general public, new variations of the "Soviet threat" theme, in the space context, are resorted to. Simultaneously, economic arguments are advanced to justify the arms race. Not only a reduction but a simple freeze on arms expenditure are portrayed as a collapse of the social system. Economic slump, a slowdown in science and technology, mass unemployment and poverty in now prosperous areas - these are the alleged consequences of attempts to "beat swords into ploughshares." But common sense and historical experience attest otherwise.

Guns are still being produced at the expense of butter. The systematic withdrawal of a large proportion of resources from the production cycle slows down economic development, contributes to inflation and brings down living standards. According to American experts, every 30 billion dollars added to U.S. military expenditure in the mid-1980s led to an underproduction of goods and services for the population to the tune of 12 billion dollars. The experience of some capitalist countries, notably Japan, demonstrates that civilian engineers are much better at developing and introducing pioneering technologies than their colleagues in the military industry. By contrast, the countries which have taken on the burden of the arms race are dooming their civilian industries to stagnation and impeding scientific and technological development.

Military expenditure creates far fewer jobs than investment in civilian industries and, as new types of arms become more science- and capital-intensive, the gap widens. The economic priority of guns provides jobs for the few at the expense of the many. These jobs usually go to workers in those groups of skills which are now in short supply in the most advanced countries, i.e., experts in electronics, systems analysis and rare scientific specialities. For example, the manufacture of nuclear weapons and missiles requires 6 times more scientists and engineers and 4 times fewer workers than civilian industries.

Special mention should be made of the rational use of servicemen referred to by Alexander Pauk in his letter. Of course the use of military technology and organization to combat the aftermath of natural disasters, ecological catastrophes and major accidents is well justified. Of course we need teams of firemen to fight fires, but fires, like ecological catastrophes and some natural disasters, can be prevented. The achievements of seismology have already reduced damage from surprise volcanic eruptions, and regulation of river flow has led to a fall in damage from flooding. To my mind, we should use a different approach. The use of even a proportion of military appropriations to curb the elements and make a potentially dangerous man-made technology safer would reduce the need for army units as "first aid" units. Meanwhile, their use in economic activity may be less dramatic but it is more effective.

Government money allocated for the maintenance of army personnel would be quite enough to pay for the work of millions of people engaged in the services, health, utilities, education, law and order and so on. To train a nurse or a city bus driver costs less than to train an operator for a missile launcher or a tankman.

I would go along with Professor Melman when he says that for all the seriousness of the problems of demilitarization they are rather political and organizational, and can be solved just like

FROM THE EDITOR

Addressing the international conference on the relationship between disarmament and development in New York on August 26, Deputy Foreign Minister of the U.S.S.R. Vladimir Petrovsky, the head of the Soviet delegation, said: "Even now it is possible to start developing a new economic model of the world in conditions of disarmament and to plan conversion in developed countries. The role of conversion is not restricted to economic aspects. It has also to do with complete elimination of the negative socio-economic consequences of the arms race and the road to ensuring the practical link between disarmament and development."

the problems of transition to new types of weapon or a new type of mass technology.

Today scientists in many countries are successfully working on specific problems of conversion. To be sure, not all questions have been answered. Many problems can only be solved during the restructuring of the economy and taking into account its national and sectoral features. But the basic conception has already emerged.

Professor Melman rightly points out that converting the munitions industry to civilian production calls for serious preparation not only at national level but at that of individual enterprises. A sensible redistribution of capital investment is needed, retraining will have to be organized and social programmes developed for those areas most affected by the structural changes due to the conversion.

Much will have to be done at military enterprises. They will have to determine how suitable their technological lines and machinery are for civilian production. Not only the management but the work force and the trade unions will have to solve numerous technical, organizational and personnel problems. For the same enterprises often produce both military and civilian goods.

Objective conditions for conversion are more favourable under the socialist economic system. Centralized planning of structural changes in the economy is already practised under socialism, and the requisite economic mechanism for such a restructuring exists. One should remember, however, the experience of large-scale national economic demilitarization measures in the years following the second world war.

Apologists for the arms race make great play of social and economic obstacles to conversion. Difficulties are, of course, inevitable but they are dwarfed by the dangers with which the militarization of the economy and society are fraught. ■

So, a comprehensive study of the problems involved in switching military production to civilian is becoming part of the foreign and internal economic policy of the Soviet Union. It calls on the governments of developed countries, international, public and private organizations to join this research.

New Times hopes to be able to contribute to these studies and invites our readers in the Soviet Union and abroad to contribute publications on the problems of conversion.

Compiled by
ANDREI ARKHIPOV
and FELIX GORYUNOV

THE BOFORS AFFAIR:

ulterior motives exposed

"We should not speak ill of the dead. But..."

Tuliameni Kalomoh, SWAPO envoy to India, tugs reflectively at his small silver-streaked beard. He has weathered many difficulties and seen much. He fought in the ranks of the South-West Africa People's Organization, then changed the battle fatigues of the soldier for the tailcoat of the diplomat. He has represented the national liberation movement of Namibia in some African and West European countries. In a word, he has first-hand knowledge of the methods used by the Western secret services against Third World leaders who have not endeared themselves to them.

"One of the favourite methods," says the ambassador, "is to discredit people with cunningly planted allegations of corruption. Doesn't this CIA document bear it out?"

Tuliameni Kalomoh points to the photocopy of a letter signed by the late William Casey, former director of the CIA, carried by the Bombay weekly paper Blitz. The letter is addressed to Edwin Feulner, president of the Heritage Foundation, the extreme right-wing American organization, whose recommendations are, it is well known, made use of by the Reagan administration.

No virtue in the "well-wishers"

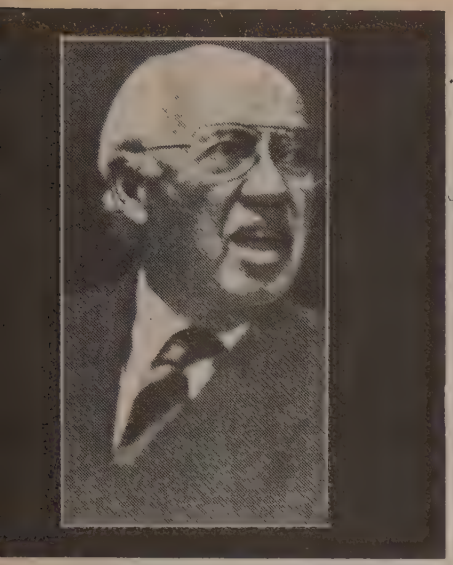
The document reveals that the Heritage Foundation has prepared a secret analysis of the outlook for internal political developments in India. Casey writes that he is particularly interested in the Foundation's conclusion about Premier Gandhi's political opponents within the ruling Indian National Congress (I) party and among the opposition, and their ability "to ignite an internal turmoil at the right time." Then "America's spy number one" described as "right on the mark" another conclusion by the Foundation that "a clever move by the opposition might bring about an avalanche of accusations against Rajiv's inner circle and later against Rajiv himself." And then follows the CIA chief's key phrase, so to speak: "One of my objectives is precisely to stimulate analysis of the implications...of Gandhi's disappearance from the political scene."

This CIA document is disturbing. In the summer of 1984 it emerged that the so-called Hardgrave Report had been prepared on CIA instructions to analyze possible developments in the situation in India in the event of Indira Gandhi's forced disappearance from the political arena. A few months later Indira Gandhi was assassinated. Now, as we see from Casey's letter, the CIA is busy "with the analysis of the implications of (Rajiv) Gandhi's disappearance from the political scene."

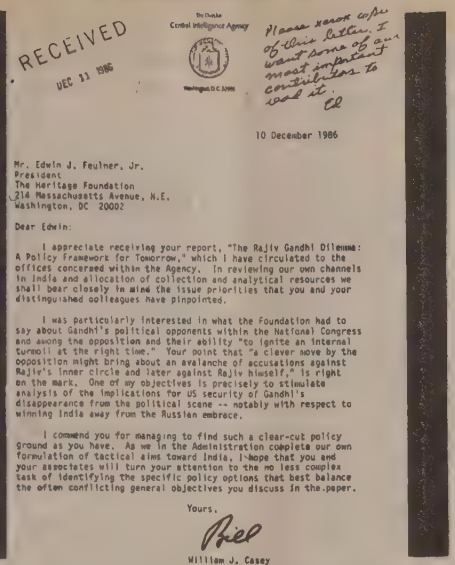
It would be an exaggeration to claim that the above-mentioned letter is an eye-opener to the Indian public. Recently it has met frequently with samples of subversive activity on the part of its "well-wishers" from "the most industrial democracy," missing no opportunity to assure "the most populous democracy" of their good will. But this time it was done so bluntly....

"Certain powers," says Rameshwar Thakur, a member of parliament and chairman of the board of the publishing trust National Herald, "are interested in weakening the Congress and the country's leadership, which have been in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and exploitation, and which stand for the new international economic order - all of which goes against American interests. That is why those powers hope to achieve their goal of India's destabilization."

Needless to say, the CIA and the State Department at once responded with a denial of the publication in Blitz. But the day after the Blitz publication the Times of India's Washington correspondent carried out an opinion poll among the representatives of broad academic circles in the United States. Their opinion, writes the correspondent, was unanimous: "The more accurate a news report, the more forceful the language used by CIA to deny it." Those questioned, the correspondent points out, recalled that Indian experts



The late CIA chief William Casey: anti-Indian schemes carried on.



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Please xerox copies of this letter. I want some of our most important contributors to read it
CC

10 December 1986

Mr. Edwin J. Feulner, Jr.
President
The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Edwin:

I appreciate receiving your report, "The Rajiv Gandhi Dilemma: A Policy Framework for Tomorrow," which I have circulated to the offices concerned within the Agency. In reviewing our own channels in India and allocation of collection and analytical resources we shall bear closely in mind the issue priorities that you and your distinguished colleagues have pinpointed.

I was particularly interested in what the Foundation had to say about Gandhi's political opponents within the National Congress and among the opposition and their ability "to ignite an internal turmoil at the right time." Your point that "a clever move by the opposition might bring about an avalanche of accusations against Rajiv's inner circle and later against Rajiv himself," is right on the mark. One of my objectives is precisely to stimulate analysis of the implications for US security of Gandhi's disappearance from the political scene -- notably with respect to winning India away from the Russian embrace.

I commend you for managing to find such a clear-cut policy ground as you have. As we in the Administration complete our own formulation of tactical aims toward India, I hope that you and your associates will turn your attention to the no less complex task of identifying the specific policy options that best balance the often conflicting general objectives you discuss in the paper.

Yours,

Bill

William J. Casey

A CIA document: "We in the Administration complete our own formulation of tactical aims toward India..." Destabilization!

Photo from the Blitz weekly (India)

working with U.S. intelligence had begun to show special interest in such questions as the outlook for the emergence of factions in the Indian National Congress (I), the effect produced by accusations of corruption against India's leaders, and the possibility of a change in the leadership of the country. All this, pollees emphasized, began long before the emergence of the so-called Bofors affair.

The debate

In April this year, Stockholm radio broadcast a report of an Indian middleman representing the government being paid a large commission on concluding a contract for the delivery to India of a batch of howitzers manufactured by Bofors. Since then the news has been snowballing and acquiring the most improbable details and now, in the construction put on it by some Indian and Western press reports, looks like a direct accusation of corruption levelled against Rajiv Gandhi's closest associates, if not at himself. The accusations are snowballing like the avalanche in William Casey's letter to the Heritage Foundation.

Casey's letter is dated December 11, 1986. Soon the Bofors scandal, subsequently to become known worldwide, broke in Sweden itself. Stockholm radio broadcast a report on the Indian sequel to the affair in April, that is, four months later. This was long enough to put into effect the option proposed by the Heritage Foundation of using accusations of corruption to discredit the leaders.

It looks as if someone in Washington, exploiting the Bofors affair, wanted to kill not two but three birds with one stone. First, to discredit the Rajiv Gandhi government and the Prime Minister himself. Second, to punish Sweden for its policy of neutrality and its membership of the Delhi Six which stand for nuclear disarmament. And third, to strike a blow against the Bofors company for competing with traditional American arms suppliers to the Third World.

These days in India there is a nationwide corruption debate conducted in parliament, political quarters and in the press. The attention of the Indian public has thus been distracted from the really burning problems facing the nation: the struggle against communalism, the unprecedented drought fraught with unpredictable consequences, the implementation of the war on poverty, and the carrying through the economic plans for the current five-year period. But the plotters' supreme goal is to incite "the avalanche of accusations" to remove the present Indian leadership from power, impose the right-wing alternative on the country, and force it to veer from the course outlined by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

"We have to realize," says Rajiv Gandhi, "that a psychological war is being waged against India - against her institutions, her political leadership, her fundamental values." Is this statement just the rhetoric of a leader who is having to defend himself? Certainly not. As is shown by the poll held by the public opinion study group and the Times of India newspaper, two thirds of the country's urban population believe that outside forces are trying to destabilize India. Moreover, the Indian leader hardly has to defend himself as his party has an absolute majority in parliament. One, however, sometimes hears claims that the Indian National Congress (I) has lost its popular mandate. Again, false. The results of the same opinion poll have shown that 70 per cent of the Indian people approve of Rajiv Gandhi's domestic policy. Eighty-two per cent of respondents called on the government to keep up its independent course in the international arena.

Nevertheless, according to established Indian parliamentary traditions, the government met the opposition's demand to set up an ad hoc commission to investigate all the details concerning the Bofors contract. And at this point, Rajiv Gandhi's opponents went back on their word and refused to participate in it.

Observers have drawn two conclusions. First, the government has nothing to hide. Second, it looks as if the opposition is more interested in playing up the accusations against the National Congress than in eliciting the truth. This will not damage the truth. But it may damage the cause of national unity, which is encountering unprecedented external pressure.

LEONID ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

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TAKING UP A POINT

I recently read an article written for Third World Network Features (based in Malaysia) by a Dr Shiraz Kassam. The article spoke authoritatively about a Soviet-South African alliance in the diamond, gold and platinum markets.

Cited as evidence was: Gordon Waddell's (Chairperson of Rustenburg Platinum Holdings of S.A.) visit to the Ministry of Foreign Trade in November of 1980; a diamond marketing agreement that was initiated by De Beers in 1957 that today provides the U.S.S.R. with around 700 million dollars a year in foreign currency; and also in 1980, that Michael Beckett, executive director of Consolidated Goldfields (a London mining finance house in which S.A. firms have controlling shares) visited the Soviet Foreign Trade Bank which handles gold sales.

Although only the diamond marketing agreement was termed "documented," it does appear that the Soviet Union is operating on a double standard here. Has the virtual monopoly on these minerals the U.S.S.R. and S.A. possess created a situation where money speaks louder than solidarity with the oppressed!

The conclusion of the article was that not only the U.S. but the U.S.S.R. also has significant leverage on the S.A. economy. Although the Soviet Union has no "official" trade with S.A., it was assessed that by simply by-passing the De Beers' syndicate the U.S.S.R. could severely damage the S.A. mineral-based economy. I am hoping you will be able to clarify this apparent hypocrisy and/or bring it to the attention of the Soviet people. I believe the Soviet people - probably more than any people outside of Africa - would rather endure the loss involved with the lack of foreign currency than see their hard work go to finance apartheid.

Exactly what is the story on the secret collusion between South African capitalism and Soviet Fiannce Ministries!

LARRY BUTTERBRODT
Luck, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

FELIX GORYUNOV, a New Times economic observer, replies.

The "golden chain" myth

New Times does not subscribe to the Malaysian publication you have mentioned, and, consequently, is in no position to judge whether its contributors are authoritative. As for the article in question, the author has sold Third World Network Features a stale commodity.

Without much difficulty I have found in my files a clipping from the London Financial Times of March 31, 1981, which contains the "evidence" you refer to.

The Financial Times claimed that in November, 1980 a Western newspaperman had "spotted" Gordon Waddell (then Executive Director of the Anglo-American transnational corporation) at the opera "Boris Godunov" at the Bolshoi Theatre.

Asked what his business in Moscow was, Gordon Waddell had replied he was "just passing through." But the old birds of Fleet Street did not swallow this "chaff." The Russians, they deduced, maintained business links with British firms dealing in precious metals, including those mined in South Africa. Allegedly, South African and Russian platinum producers meet regularly in the offices of precious metal dealers in London and at the annual platinum industry dinner at the Savoy Hotel. There is no place like such a dinner at which to forge the links of a "secret gold chain," with a glass of sherry in hand "Suspicions that platinum cooperation" (between the U.S.S.R. and South Africa) "might go a little deeper were strengthened" by Gordon Waddell's visit, the Financial Times concluded.

Almost seven years later, I have failed to find traces of his stay in Moscow. At any rate, nobody met with him at the precious metals administration of the U.S.S.R. Bank for Foreign Trade which, according to The Financial Times' logic, must be the main link of "cooperation."

Now Michael Beckett, an executive director of London-based Consolidated Gold Fields Corp., and two other ConsGold executives, D. Potts and R. Konley, did actually have talks at the U.S.S.R. Bank for Foreign Trade in September of the same year. Talks, mind you, not confidential negotiations (otherwise the Bank's officials would not have disclosed their content to a newsman).

The talks centered on the world gold market situation and had the purpose of allowing the ConsGold team to build up information for use in the company's annual bullion survey issued since 1980 under D. Pott's editorship. As far as I was able to gather, it was the desire to replenish these surveys with trustworthy information on gold-mining in the Soviet Union that had brought the British businessmen to Moscow. They received no such information, however, because it is considered classified here. Moreover, it was explained to them that the Bank's function was not mining precious metals but selling and buying them abroad.

The talks over, Mr Beckett said he would like to re-visit Moscow the following year, and confirmed this intention by letter. Although the visit has never materialized, the Bank for Foreign Trade has been receiving regular bullion market surveys from London and considers them the most authoritative source of information about yellow metal production and trade worldwide.

But can these contacts between Soviet bankers and British businessmen be considered evidence of our support for the apartheid regime? Mining transnationals, which operate in South Africa as well, are dealt with even by the frontline states of that region as they see the difference between private businesses and the racist state. In the light of the above, what can be described as "apparent hypocrisy" is

adic trade contacts with anies who do business with among other countries, but rn propagandists' attempts se contacts as some kind of l chain" between Moscow

been a journalist, I would unlikely to discern any etween the visits paid to essrs Waddell and Becket. nection did exist, and a most t that. The U.S.S.R. Bank for , in which talks with Mr onducted, is a stone's throw noi Theatre.

peculation apart, let us turn

t worth mentioning here is torical and geographical viet Union and South Africa ld's leading gold-mining d they also account for oportion of platinum and uction worldwide. Although are objectively interested e prices of these commodi- by no means testifies to the a "Soviet-South African cusing Moscow of the .e., of an intention to outh Africa's economy by us metals and diamonds at s - makes no sense, either. is that the U.S.S.R. abides economic sanctions imposed gainst the apartheid regime The U.S.S.R. does no trade rica, and Soviet merchants siness links with its citizens. mmon knowledge that the enders substantial economic aid to the South African . We in the Soviet Union are South Africa's indigenous its fight against racism. mpts to accuse the Soviet perating on a double regard to the apartheid t to a political provocation. more obvious today when pressure, even some of its efactors are distancing utwardly, at any rate) from , which is in the throes of it is only to be regretted orld information service has spreading the "gold chain"

ve managed to adduce uments that the "evidence" assam and his ilk holds no country, nonetheless, this "evidence" is not only taken at face value but even used to substantiate political actions. Having decided to "punish" Pretoria last year, Congress banned the sale in the U.S. of South African gold coins (Krugerrands) and likewise of Soviet gold pieces. The American right-wing politicians who pushed this "golden equation" through have long been notorious for their rabid anti-Sovietism. The economic motives behind the move are less obvious to the general public.

The world gold, platinum and diamond market is distinguished by a high degree of monopolization. For instance, the Anglo-American group and its sister company, De Beers Consolidated Mines, a transnational conglomerate belonging to the Oppenheimer family, accounts for a quarter of the capitalist world's gold output and dominates international diamond production. This explains why Soviet foreign trade organizations, which are not linked with De Beers by any diamond marketing agreement, still sell diamonds to the Western firms it controls. At the same time, competition on the precious metal markets - the gold market, in particular - is quite high. Demand for these metals is growing as they find ever more industrial uses and people increasingly convert their savings into gold as a hedge against inflation. Although gold is almost never used nowadays as a means of settling international accounts, many countries regard gold stocks as a strategic hard currency reserve. Gold prices shoot up dramatically in periods of acute currency crisis.

The jumping of the troy ounce to over 800 dollars in 1980 is a case in point. The decline in the value of the U.S. dollar over the past two years has also caused a steady rise in gold prices from 300 dollars per ounce in May, 1985 to 460 dollars now. Hence the "rush" for Russian gold in the West, and the revival of the "secrete gold chain" theme.

The U.S. Congress' "double resolution" goes to show that the cock-and-bull stories about a "Soviet-South African alliance" are being used not only to damage the political reputation of the Soviet Union as a staunch opponent of the apartheid regime, but also to justify anti-Soviet economic actions. The "gold chain" myth serves as another far-fetched pretext for curtailing East-West business contacts, the broadening of which could enliven the situation on the world raw material and precious metal markets.

FOLLOW-UP

EWP sues New Times

I was staggered by the story carried by New Times (No. 28, 1987) about the legal proceedings instituted in Paris by the French European Working Party (EWP) against your magazine. At first I even felt you should have ignored the EWP's claim as based on grounds as flimsy as they are rotten. On second thoughts, however, I came to the conclusion that you should take up the challenge.

The threshold of tolerance for all manifestations of fascism and its ideological legacy has recently risen dramatically in the F.R.G. There are certainly reasons for this. Instead of clever and thorough explanatory work to reveal the historical roots and inhuman character of national socialism and fascism, and telling people of the tragedies for which nazism was responsible, the past few years have witnessed incessant and frantic anti-communist propaganda. This propaganda is certainly disapproved of by many here, but not by everyone - far from it. Talking with a young man not long ago, I was struck by his obvious attraction to fascism. "This is off the record, of course," he told me, "but we need a little Adolf." I think any sane person must shudder at this readiness to bring back the terrible past, at such an unambiguous profession of political faith.

I have a vivid memory of the discussion launched by New Times in 1985 on the revival of revanchist sentiments in the F.R.G. Although a considerable section of the population is obviously opposed to revanchim, a meeting of Silesian Germans did take place in Hanover. It was addressed by the editor of the newspaper Der Schlesier who insisted - and not, of course, solely on his own behalf - that Europe's eastern borders, as confirmed by a relevant treaty, be revised. In the same year of 1985 a community of Prussians arranged an exhibition in Malente (Schleswig-Holstein) called "Forty years of flight and exile." Central to its numerous exhibits was a map of Eastern Prussia issued in 1942, showing Poland as part of it.

Up to now I have been inclined to dismiss such facts as insignificant episodes in the F.R.G.'s diverse political life, but I am now firmly convinced that right-wing extremism is rampant in our country and that it is slowly but surely developing into a serious political trend. The process is not confined to our country alone. It is against this background that your magazine is being sued.

I think the Paris trial and your presence at it will awaken and alert not only individual citizens, but all progressive circles in Western Europe and rouse them to more vigorous action against the revival of neonazism. I am certain that what New Times has had to say about neonazism and revanchism is prefectly objective and accurate, and based on a documentary record of contemporary events. This is why I regard as untenable the attempts to pronounce your magazine a frivolous publication which should be banned from writing on these subjects. On the contrary, I am convinced that you should dwell on the danger of neonazism by every means at your disposal and relentlessly warn your readers of what complacency and connivance can lead to.

LOTHAR STRINKAU
Lübeck, F.R.G.

WHY IN 1939?

Reflections on the beginning of World War II

VALENTIN FALIN

So much has been written about the Munich agreement (September 1938) that we shall confine ourselves here to summing up the aspects of that betrayal essential for an evaluation of the motives of the parties to it.

The Munich betrayal

First. By the autumn of 1937 the U.S.A., Britain and France knew quite definitely that the nazis had set their sights on the conquest of Czechoslovakia. It was clear that Hitler associated the success or failure of his entire "thousand-year Reich" programme with the elimination of Czechoslovakia as a viable state, and not only with the seizure of the Sudetenland.

Second. Munich was not a hastily contrived, but a thoroughly considered compact. The betrayal of Czechoslovakia was not a forced measure but a conscious act prompted by ideological considerations and power politics. On September 11, 1938, following a talk he had with Oliver Stanley, member of the British government, the well-known British diplomat and journalist Harold Nicolson wrote: "Oliver agrees that the conflict has really nothing to do with Czechoslovakia.... You see, whether we win or lose (in the war. **V.F.**) it will be the end of everything we stand for." By "we" he obviously meant the capitalist class.

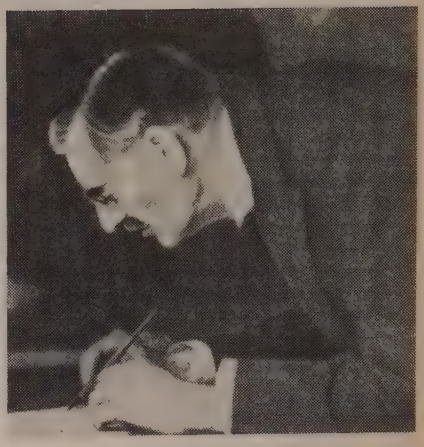
If war could be avoided, well and good. But if a conflict was inevitable, let it be a war against the U.S.S.R. - **here you have the substance of the policy of "appeasement," the moral justification for all the infamies committed in its name.** It was a futile attept to perfect the technique of the imperialist partition of the world, but without using weapons against one another. As far as the details were concerned, the U.S. and Britain differed, and substantially. But on the crucial issues, they were at one or came very close together. Washington was wary of radical changes. Preservation of the status quo was more suited to the mentality of the American monopolies.

Third. There were many ways in which the "democracies" could have rebuffed the aggressors. In alliance with the U.S.S.R. or without it, but not against it. All of these means presupposed firmness and elementary decency. But in the event both were lacking.

The well-known authority on Munich, Boris Celovsky, rightly observes that the Western "appeasers" were guided "not by the principles of democracy and law, but by anti-Sovietism." Britain considered the participation in European politics of the "semi-asiatic" U.S.S.R. undesirable and was "determined not to countenance it." Anxious for agreement with Germany, it sought a "compromise" at all costs. On September I, 1938, Horace Wilson told Theodor Kordt, the German chargé d'affaires, that if Britain and Germany reached mutual understanding, the opinion of France and Czechoslovakia would not count, and that Germany could extend its economic expansion to Southeastern Europe, to which Britain laid no claim. In a letter to King George VI dated September 13, 1938, Neville Chamberlain stressed his intention to make Germany and Britain two pillars of peace in Europe and a bulwark against communism.

Western leaders, Celovsky writes, "saw in the Third Reich primarily a capitalist state and a bastion against Bolshevism." In this sense the Third Reich was given preference over the Weimar Republic. "The British," we read in a recent and detailed West German study of the anti-Hitler resistance in Germany, "joined in the war to fight the nazi foreign policy rather than the nazi regime. They wanted peace not in order to change the regime."

Fourth. Involved in the Munich deal were **not four but five powers.** Early in 1938, Roosevelt proposed to the British Prime Minister a confidential exchange of views. The President declared for U.S. participation in the settlement of world problems and the holding of an international conference to define the guideposts of peaceful international cooperation. He believed that Czechoslovakia should be helped in some way. But, encountering a rebuff from official London, Roosevelt retreated, and in August-September had totally switched over to the British position on the issue. American diplomacy did its utmost to present the murder of Czechoslovakia as suicide and to gloss over the whole unpleasant procedure.



Neville Chamberlain signs the Munich agreement.

In March 1938 the U.S.S.R. proposed holding a conference to work out urgent measures to combat aggression. Prague was in favour. Paris took an evasive position. London and Washington were against. Or rather, the U.S. did not respond to the Soviet proposal, so as not "to discourage Russia" by a "formal reply," as Cordell Hull was to write later in his memoirs. Declining to cooperate with Moscow, Washington sought to turn the Czechoslovaks against the U.S.S.R. It did not check the leadership of Poland, which was preparing to pounce on Czechoslovakia even ahead of the nazis. **On September 27, 1938, agreement was reached between Warsaw and Berlin on the "demarcation line" in the event of war.** If the U.S.S.R gave military aid to Czechoslovakia, the Polish extremists intended to join the Germans in the war against the Soviet Union, boasting that they could smash the Red Army "in three months."

Fifth. The "democracies" had no illusions about the Munich agreement being not the end but only an intermediate stage in German expansion. The Versailles system was receding into the limbo of the past, and the nazi Reich was acquiring all

Continued from our issue No. 38

the earmarks of one of the "elite" - one of the great powers with their exclusive status in the matter of law and morality. All that was asked - no longer demanded - of Germany was not to misuse armed force. It might indulge in sabre-rattling, but it should not shoot. At least not at its own side. London and Washington believed that the game was worth the candles lit first for Ethiopia and Spain, then for Austria, and now for Czechoslovakia: German energy was being channelled in what seemed to be the right direction - eastward. It remained to get Berlin to share this view.

At first everything seemed to fall into place. Immediately after Munich, the Germans did consider plans of aggression together with Poland against the U.S.S.R. Essentially, the only condition Poland set for participating in such a war was that the armed forces of the Reich attack the Soviet Union from the territory of other countries, Romania for example, but not from Poland. Meanwhile a mere nine months remained until disaster struck. The time for cold war, to use modern terminology, had run out. The turn of hot war was approaching.

New timetable

In 1937, the nazis counted on starting the principal military operations under the programme for the acquisition of Lebensraum for the Reich **no later than 1943-45.** In a letter to Hitler dated August 25, 1939, Mussolini expressed his surprise at Germany's decision to attack Poland within a week, and reminded the Fuehrer that "at our meetings **the beginning of the war was set for 1942,** by which time, **in conformity with our agreed plans,** I would have forces in combat readiness on land, on the sea and in the air." Tokyo considered 1946 as a convenient time for Japan to join in a major war for the subjugation of Indonesia, the Philippines and other territories of South Asia and Oceania.

The abundance and diversity of source material often presents the forecaster with well-nigh insoluble problems. Especially in the political sphere. And the tendency is to believe what one wants to believe. Why was the beginning of World War II moved up several years? Primarily because the Western powers proved to be more pliable and the Western and Eastern systems sustaining the territorial status established by Versailles had collapsed much sooner than the nazis had expected in their initial calculations. The rulers of the Reich felt that they were now in a position to achieve their objective with less effort and with foreseeable risk virtually alone by dealing sudden, concentrated blows at disunited adversaries.

More. The mobilization in the armed forces of millions of men, rearmament, the intervention in Spain, and the seizure of Austria and Czechoslovakia had swallowed up considerable material and manpower resources. In a memo dated July 1, 1940, Carl Goerdeler, the ideological leader of the anti-Hitler opposition in German upper-class circles, wrote: "The aim of war is peace. But Germany is farther from that than ever before. We used to secure a happy and durable peace (meaning the satisfaction of most of Germany's imperialist demands. - **Y.F.**) without war, The Hitler government, however, cannot do without war since its financial and economic policy has reached a dead end." The leading banker Hjalmar Schacht was of the same opinion. War was a flight from bankruptcy. Germany's growing appetites called for a broader economic base, expansion, which seemed more easily and simply accomplished by appropriating the wealth of other countries.

Nazi troops entering Prague. March 15, 1939.

Still more difficult was it to foresee who would be involved in the war and how. The sum total of the information reaching Moscow at that time left no doubt of Britain's intention to prod Germany to fight the U.S.S.R. In this it had the approval of France and the sympathy of the U.S. The American ambassador in Paris, William Bullitt, observed that after Munich, the British and the French wanted things to develop into a war between the German Reich and the U.S.S.R., at the end of which the "democracies" could attack Germany and force it to surrender.

This was the only interpretation that could be given to the series of diplomatic moves made by Paris and London at the end of 1938 and the first half of 1939. December 6, 1938, saw the signing of a Franco-German declaration of non-aggression, which, in Ribbentrop's opinion, "cut France off from the U.S.S.R. and removed the last remnants of the danger of Franco-Russian cooperation." Former U.S. President Herbert Hoover held that the West European countries need have no fear of Germany, whose expansion was naturally directed eastward, and all that was needed was not to hinder that expansion.

The news of the seizure by Germany on March 15, 1939, of what was left of Czechoslovakia was received by London with stoicism. Washington, too, gave no sign of disquiet, if any. Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle wrote that the latest nazi aggression had not particularly worried Roosevelt. Like many in Britain, the President possibly hoped that German expansion eastward would ease the position of Britain and France.

The United States recognized de facto the Austrian anschluss a month after it had taken place, and later gave recognition to the dismemberment and liquidation of Czechoslovakia. On March 22 Germany severed the Klaipeda area from Lithuania, although its integrity had been guaranteed by Britain and France. Both countries remained indifferent to the event. On March 23 Romania was compelled to place all of its oil and agricultural produce at the disposal of the Reich. That pill too was swallowed, albeit with a grimace of distaste.

Whose turn was it next - the Soviet Union's? Hitler was in no hurry to adapt his own timetable of aggression to the hints and suggestions of the Western powers. Reliable information was received in London that the next blow, moreover by armed force, was to be delivered at Poland.

On March 30, the Chamberlain cabinet announced that in the event of an attack on Poland that country would be given support. A week later this statement was embodied in the Polish-British agreement of mutual assistance "in the event of any threat, direct or indirect, to the independence of either side." The British gave similar assurances to Romania, Greece and Turkey. Obviously, the reason for the display of determination on the part of London was not the defence of any one

country against the German threat but the desire to prevent the establishment of German domination on the continent which could result in Germany becoming so powerful as to threaten British security.

As a matter of fact, defence of Poland was never seriously considered. At an Anglo-French staff conference in April 1939 the emphasis was laid on "strategic defence" at the first stage of a war with Germany (and Italy). The only offensive measures contemplated were disruption of the enemy's economy to hinder their further conduct of the war.

The British military experts assured the political leaders that "without early and effective Russian assistance, the Poles cannot hope to stand up to a German attack...for more than a limited time...The conclusion of a treaty with Russia appears to us to be the best way of preventing a war...At the worst, if the negotiations with Russia break down, a Russo-German rapprochement may take place...." However, for the country's leaders, ideological objections to cooperating with the U.S.S.R. outweighed any military advantage.

Today it is quite obvious that in the spring and summer of 1939 the U.S.S.R. was wasting its time and energy when it sought agreement with the Western powers. Given a minimum of good will on the part of London and Paris it would have been quite possible to reach agreement, and reach it quickly. But Britain, it is recorded in the "secret diary" of U.S. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes, "kept hoping against hope that she could embroil Russia and Germany with each other and thus escape scot-free herself." The British leadership needed the semblance of negotiations with the U.S.S.R. in order to prevent the normalization of Soviet-German relations and to exert pressure on Berlin.

It was believed that the defeat and capture of Poland would take the Germans no more than one or two months. After which, it was assumed, Hitler would offer Britain and France peace, coditional on giving the Reich a free hand in the East. With this in view, during their political contacts with Moscow (March-June 1939) and in the course of their "military talks" (August), the British secretly offered the Germans to conclude a "broad agreement" on non-intervention by the nazis in the affairs of the British Empire, and by Britain, in the affairs of "Greater Germany."

Moreover, at the height of the fighting at Khalkhin Gol, the British expressed readiness to give their blessing to the Japanese aggression and Japan's conquests in China. London pressed on the U.S. to do likewise, and did so with such insistence as to cause irritation in that country. It is no exaggeration to say that the Tories urged Tokyo to press more vigorously northward in order to make an attack on the Soviet Union look more attractive to Hitler.

(To be continued)

Crooked mirror

A false argument refuted

YURI RESHETOV, D. Sc. (Law)

The British magazine The Economist has put out a thick reference book, The World Human Rights Guide. The publication can be called an Anglo-American effort, as a similar reference book has come out in the U.S. The book lists individual human rights and considers how they are observed in each country. Points are awarded to each of the 120 states dealt with. Marks are given for individual rights and for overall performance. Some get A's, others unsatisfactory marks, and so on.

However, if you want to know how many points each country scores in The Economist's reference book, there is no need to arm yourself with the texts of international documents on human rights and check them against national legislations, pore over files or listen to eyewitnesses. The compiler, Charles Humana, has dotted all the i's in his preface in which he states that "Western Europe and other democratic countries enjoy a satisfactory level of civil and political rights, while the governments of Eastern Europe continue to follow a Marxist-Leninist ideology." The message is clear: the compilers equate Marxist-Leninist philosophy with the violation of all human rights. They believe only the capitalist system can guarantee these rights. And the only "genuine" conception of human rights is that adopted by bourgeois ideologists. This would seem to leave no doubt as to the kind of marks one can expect from Mr Humana. Even so, one can't help being amazed at the scale of his arithmetical manipulations. The Philippines under Marcos get 44 points out of 100, and this for a period when the dictator was jailing dissidents and murdering his rivals....The reference book was already in print when Marcos fell in February 1986 and evidently there was no time to make the necessary corrections.

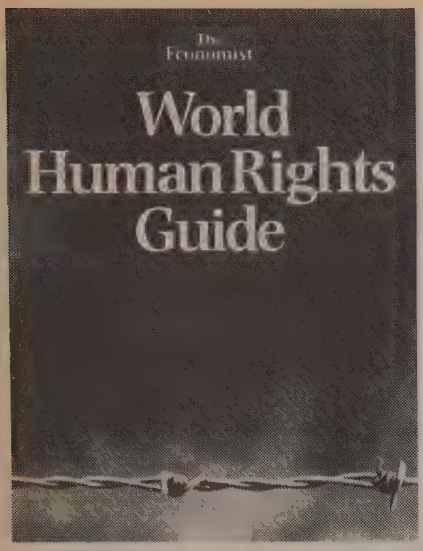
But according to the reference book the situation in the Philipiones in 1985 was far better than in the U.S.S.R. (20 points), Bulgaria (23), or Cuba (24).... Haiti under Duvalier gets higher marks than the U.S.S.R. Even racist South Africa, that symbol of human rights violations, scores 22 points!

One wonders how these results are arrived at. As anti-Sovietism alone cannot result in such marks, a special method of calculation must be used.

Neglected rights

Let us first look at The Economist's list of human rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the covenants on human rights identify about 70 rights. The compilers recognize only 40. Even some of the rights named in the Universal Declaration are absent. Article 22 of the Declaration reads that "everyone, as a member of society has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation, and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality." This article has been dropped. Why? Apparently the governments in Washington and London feel that social spending is too much of a burden. The Reagan administration has in the last five and a half years cut public spending by 110-120 billion dollars. Loth to mention this, the compilers of the reference book preferred to omit the article.

Likewise omitted is the right to rest and leisure, including the right to reasonable limitation of the working day and regular paid leave (Article 24 of the Declaration). Forgotten is the right to an adequate living standard, and the right to security in case of unemployment (Article 25). The compilers do not recognize the right to education (Article 26). It will be recalled that when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were being drawn up such provisions as free elementary and general education, and general accessibility to



The front cover of The Economist's publication.

higher education were included only on the insistence of the socialist countries.

While they avoid mentioning the right to work envisaged by Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the compilers mention work in another context: "Compulsory or conscripted work." It is true that nobody is forcing jobless people in America and Britain to work, and the many slave camps on plantations on the eastern seaboard of the U.S.A. described by the American Workers Defence League have failed to attract the authors' attention.

Doctoring

Having compiled a list of rights that suits them, the authors proceeded to the still less noble task of doctoring the content of human rights. While at the beginning of the reference book we get an enumeration of human rights with reference to the corresponding provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international covenants, the same forty rights are treated differently in the case of each country.

There is yet another trick worth noting. In most cases the definitions of rights are drawn from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which is less precise than the legally binding convention documents. However, if the Declaration's provisions are unsuitable, the text of the pacts is invoked. For example, the Economist clearly has no use for the Declaration's article on the right to life, which says that everyone has the right to life, liberty, and the security of person" (Article 3). Instead it quotes Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In the process it omits point 3 of the article, which says that states cannot depart from the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Why has this point been dropped? The answer is not far to seek. The U.S. still takes a negative attitude to this key human rights document. The white America throughout its history is pursuing a policy of genocide,that is, of physical extermination with regard to the country's indigenous Indian population. Indigenous Americans have been herded into reservations situated in the most barren, desert parts of the country. The average life expectancy of an Indian is 44 years, while that of a white American, 76 years. Child mortality among Indians is three times higher than among whites.

Article 2 of the Universal Declaration is similarly doctored. The first part reads: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." In this list of the causes of discrimination, discrimination on the basis of race is definitely emphasized. But this section has been truncated at the stroke of a pen with only the question of the equality of women left in.

Racial discrimination in the U.S., Great Britain or France is not the subject of this article but we cannot help but cite two facts which have escaped The Economist's notice. Carl Rowan writes in The Washington Post that the explosion of racism is potentially one of the blackest spots on his (President Reagan's) reputation as a leader of the country. Charles Humana and his colleagues have not noticed this explosion. On "social and economic equality for ethnic minorities,"they give America a good mark while noting inequalities in employment and size of pay. The same extraordinary leniency on the racial issue is exhibited towards Great Britain. Its population is divided under the British Nationality Act into first-, second- and third-class citizens. Among the third-class citizens are people from African and Asian Commonwealth countries.

However, the rights of women - which is left in the reference book - is not a strong point with the "heroes" of the publication. President Reagan has publicly opposed a constitutional amendment on equal rights for women.

In general, one should take a closer look at how the points are awarded. In the U.S.S.R., we discover, millions are held in labour camps, people disappear and slavery flourishes.... Children in schools are dictated on obligatory religion - Marxism-Leninism and after school children are exposed to various forms of violence by the state. The result is 20 points.

Portraits with barbed wire

But two pages down, in the section on the U.S., everything looks fine. In a country where peace campaigners are jailed for terms of up to 10 years, where dissenters are attacked with bombs and red-baiting continues, we are told that "the propagation of ideas" is unimpeded...."

We learn furthermore that there is no censorship in the U.S. where dozens of works by contemporary writers - Joseph Heller, Bernard Malamud, Kurt Vonnegut and by classics, such as Mark Twain, are removed from libraries.

England and France are also high-scorers even on those points on which the authorities of the two countries would seem to have little hope of gaining plaudits. Thus the governments of Britain and France in reply to a query from the United Nations declared that they did not recognize the existence of national minorities. Nevertheless, they receive good marks on minority rights.

Among the countries scoring decent marks are Israel, a state based on religious fanaticism and intolerance; South Korea, where students burn themselves to death in protest against lawlessness and reprisals; Pakistan, where people can be jailed for three years without explanation.

True, the handbook, though odious, is in line with certain contemporary theses. The U.S. President speaks of an honours list of Central and South American countries to which freedom has come, in his opinion. He means Grenada, which has been raped by the Pentagon. And, the President asks, will Nicaragua some day join this honours list? Not surprisingly The Economist puts Nicaragua near the bottom of its list, accusing the Sandinistas of human rights violations. The President, then, is right that Nicaragua needs to be "liberated."

To justify the dozens of disclosed subversive operations against sovereign states, Western propaganda paints their portraits with barbed wire.

The same method is used to create an image of the U.S.S.R. as "an empire of evil." The Economist's publication is a good example of such a "struggle for human rights." ■

THE CUSTOMS:

A BARRIER OR A GATEWAY?

What is the function of the customs? To search tourists' luggage or carry out customs policy? Is democratization necessary in this sphere? Below New Times interviews VITALY BOYAROV, First Deputy Chairman of the State Customs Board responsible to the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers.

Several cases of drug traffickers trying to smuggle their wares through our country have made headlines recently. Combating the drug trafficking calls for joint efforts by customs authorities in various countries.

There is an urgent need for such efforts. We have cooperated with our foreign colleagues before, but mostly with those in socialist countries. Now we have to do so at a new level, taking joint actions and exchanging information on a large scale. This is in line with the changes now taking place in our country, with greater openness and glasnost. We are all aware of the need to fight drug trafficking as an international evil. No country can deal with the problem single-handed today.

Do you operate on a bilateral basis or within the framework of international bodies?

There is a Customs Cooperation Council with headquarters in Brussels. Representing more than a hundred countries, it draws up documents of a fundamental nature, among them those on combating drug traffic. There is also what is known as the Nairobi Convention, one of the key provisions of which is that member states help each other combat drug trafficking and exchange information on dangerous cargoes that pass through their territories.

Is our country a member of this council?

No, but it takes part in its work as an observer. Nor have we acceded to the Nairobi Convention, although we do abide by its provisions. We deem it necessary not only to protect our own country from narcotics, but to help other countries to do so. This has been borne out by a number of recent incidents. Specifically, we have intercepted a batch of drugs intended for Canada, and Ottawa greatly appreciated that.

An attempt was made then to smuggle about 5 tons of drugs worth nearly 120 million dollars through our country.

Is the U.S.S.R. going to join the council and sign the convention?

It is up to our government to take this decision. It seems to be the sensible thing to do.

Most of what our readers know about techniques for combating drug trafficking comes from books by foreign authors translated into Russian. The Americans use a far-flung network of informers, double agents planted in the drug trade. What are you doing to keep drugs out of the Soviet Union?

The role of the customs here is restricted to providing conditions that enable us to prevent drugs from being smuggled into our country or carried across its territory. We can manage this on our own. Incidentally, we have just confiscated a batch of narcotics. A Norwegian woman tried to smuggle almost a million dollars' worth of heroine from Nigeria in a blackwood figurine. The Norwegian Prosecutor's Office has instituted legal proceedings against her and asked us for material evidence. This is a typical example of superb professionalism: the Soviet customs official who X-rayed her luggage saw several wooden figurines in a bag and suspected that one of them was hollow. He proved right.

Why wasn't the offender detained there and then and charged with smuggling?

There were grounds for doing so. But she denied knowledge of the figurine having been used as a hiding place and assured us that she had been asked to take these objects d'art along as gifts to friends. This could be true. Presumably, the investigation of the incident by the Norwegian legal authorities will help reveal a network of drug traffickers rather than merely establishing whether or not the carrier was guilty.

What technical facilities does a customs official use?

X-rays mostly, plus some simple devices. We rely above all on our own experience and intuition and do not use oversophisticated equipment.

What about customhouses abroad?

Neither do they. The equipment we use is of foreign make. So far our industry has produced no adequate customs inspection instruments.

There is a lot of talk about dogs capable of sniffing out narcotics....

Dogs are of great help in examining hand luggage and in cases when no special pains are taken to camouflage drugs. But no dog would sniff out heroine hidden in a figurine, for instance, or in containers especially if the drugs hidden in them are wrapped in three layers of polyethylene and buried in strong-smelling merchandise, like raisins or wool.

The customs fight drug traficking with the utmost efficiency and professionalism. But the image of a customs officer - a grey-uniformed man rummaging through your bags and eyeing you suspiciously - is hardly attractive. Why so?

That is how most passengers see us. For a number of reasons, both objective and subjective, our record of dealing with passengers over the past few years has, unfortunately, been negative in many respects. I would explain this by bad taste and insufficient professional ethics.

It is often alleged that customs officers keep some of the items they confiscate for their own use....

I've heard talk to that effect, but I must say that no complaints have so far been lodged. Having confiscated an item, a customs officer is obliged to draw up a numbered statement and hand over the item to the warehouse at once. However, I wouldn't deny the possibility of there being dishonest persons in our ranks as well.

Some people complain that video cassettes are taken from incoming passengers for viewing but never returned.

The cassettes are not confiscated, but withdrawn for inspection by frontier guards and must, unless their contents are found to be offensive, be returned to their owners. And, I repeat, every confiscation must be duly registered.

Incidentally, who judges whether a video recordiong is offensive or not?

Appropriate instructions have been drawn up - for frontier guards, not for us. This comes within their terms of reference.

Our main problem is that we lack professional skill. Over seventy years of Soviet power, no one has been properly trained in customs examination practice: we still have not a single school that prepares experts in this field. It is only fairly recently that we have been allowed to set up a training centre of our own.

So novices learned from their more experienced colleagues. It was perfectly all right if the teachers were honest and competent. And if they weren't? The low prestige of the profession tells on the passengers' attitude to customs officials and on the latter's attitude to their work.

Even in the best Moscow custom offices

Soviet customs officers found more than three and a half tons of antiques of great historical and artistic value smuggled out of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan in an F.R.G.-bound transit container truck. The antiques will be returned to the country of origin.
TASS photo

the turnover of personnel is 30 per cent a year. Hence the unattractive image of the customs official. But you must also consider something else. In his professional capacity a customs official affects the interests of others, sometimes badly. Besides, he deals not only with honest and decent people, even though they are in the majority, but with malefactors as well, or simply with those who fail to observe certain rules. Their feelings are understandable, but....

For a whole year we have been busy trying to raise the standard of our work and promote understanding between customs officials and passengers. Nevertheless, we are not ensured against complaints and legitimate discontent. I must say, though, that some complaints are unjustified and come from those who have not been allowed to violate certain norms and regulations.

In our readers' opinion, most of the norms you apply are obsolescent. There are so many taboos that, our readers tell us, the elementary human rights of those crossing our state border are violated.

As a matter of fact, there have accumulated so many prohibitive, regulating and restricting instructions over the past twenty years or so that our customs officials often become totally confused. The most striking thing is that those of us who have been with the customs for about eighteen months cannot understand why many of these restrictions have been imposed at all.

Every ban should make sense and protect someone's interests. Certain norms elevated absurd requirements to the status of laws. Now we are cancelling these norms.

Generally speaking, Soviet citizens on their way back from abroad do not carry as many things as they are commonly believed to; therefore there is really no need for the numerous strict bans and restrictions imposed at one time, though some of them are still valid. A great deal of fuss was made about, say, an extra pair of jeans found in an incoming passenger's bag. This detracted the customs from combating really dangerous contraband which posed serious threats to our economy and to Soviet people's health, morality and even lives. I mean narcotics, arms and commercial quantities of goods which Soviet citizens simply cannot afford.

We are now working out new customs regulations. They will get things in their right perspective and alert our customs officers to the real dangers.

Many Soviet citizens work abroad. They are actually deprived of the right to bring home what they have purchased there. Will quantitative restrictions on the goods in short supply here that are allowed into the country ever be lifted? Will the ceiling ever be raised on the commercial quantities you've mentioned?

Customs offices around the world insist that the quantity of goods brought in by private individuals should not exceed their personal requirements. This provision is formalized by international conventions which we have signed. But is there really an objective criterion for personal requirements? The notion of such requirements differs between the Americans and ourselves, for instance. Some countries set a cost ceiling meaning that one can bring in any products provided their total worth does not exceed a certain limit. We have established quantitative restrictions. We must control the influx of goods to our market so as to prevent profiteering. Still it is difficult to fix norms. Who is to decide whether the number of shirts or jeans allowed into the country be restricted to five or ten, one or two?

One thing is perfectly obvious: we must strictly observe the rights of Soviet citizens.

There is a school of thought that maintains that the quantities of certain items allowed into the country be restricted but that the list of these items be short and revised, say, twice a year. All items in excess of these quotas are to be allowed in, but made dutiable. If a person has purchased something for earned currency, why confiscate these purchases and punish him? Let him bring them in if he is prepared to pay customs duties. The duties levied on such goods should be high enough to make such transactions unprofitable. We shall probably impose a progressive customs duty on all items exceeding the fixed quotas, while commercial quantities of items will be assessed on an entirely different scale.

How do customs elsewhere in the world deal with such problems?

In different ways. But you should bear in mind that in the capitalist world there is practically no need to restrict the quantity of consumer goods brought in by private individuals. Nevertheless, quantitative restrictions on the commercial inflow of such goods are imposed everywhere.

In short, the work pressure on our customs officials depends directly on the performance of our light industry....But what about customs policy, which is part and parcel of international trade? In many countries the customs are subordinate to the ministry of finance and are allowed to collect customs duties.

At one time this practice which is, I am sure, of vital political and economic importance to the state, was stopped. Formally, customs duties are included in the purchasing price by Soviet foreign trade organizations under contracts. Now the question of introducing real import tariffs and customs duties is under consideration. The collection of these duties should certainly be a prerogative of our administration. As soon as we have settled this matter, we shall be able to conduct an active customs policy.

Interviewer LEONID MLECHIN

Truth versus dogmatism

LEONID IONIN, D. Sc. (Philosophy)

New thinking has become something of a catch phrase: "We should learn to think in a new way." Nobody would argue with that. Of course, we must learn to think in a new way. But we are increasingly confronted with the fact that learning is not all - we must resolve to think in a new way.

THE CHANGES IN OUR THINKING INVOLVE A COLLAPSE OF DOGMAS

Each of us is faced with a choice. In order to choose we must know what we are choosing and what we are giving up. What are the features of the old way of thinking? How did it take shape? What is to replace it? What problems are we likely to encounter once we have made our choice?

●

Let me tell you a story which may seem at first to have nothing to do with my subject.

Back in 1926 the Moscow Art Theatre produced Mikhail Bulgakov's "Days of the Turbines." The story of the production and the stormy political discussions it provoked is described in the recently published book, "Mikhail Bulgakov and the Art Theatre," by Anatoly Smelyansky.

Today "Days of the Turbines" is a Soviet stage classic. But in those years "leftist" critics saw the play as a sortie of the class enemy, an apology for the White Guards. Every conceivable political label was stuck on the author of the play and on the Art Theatre. Unlike most authors of the time, Bulgakov dispensed with the simplistic formula "The Reds are good and the Whites are bad" and probed into the depths and complexities of human behaviour and the characters in which history was embodied. His play reflected life with all its tragic contradictions. This was what infuriated "leftist" critics. They had pat answers to everything: this is good and this is evil, and the slightest departure from their black-and-white, or rather, red-and-white picture of the world was to be condemned and nipped in the bud.

Driven to despair by unjust and virulent attacks, Bulgakov replied to the crude criticism with a stage lampoon entitled, "The Purple Island" (it was written in 1929, but was first published in 1987, in the journal Druzhba narodov, No. 8).

The action takes place in a provincial theatre which is producing a play about British colonialists conquering the natives. The characters are divided into the positive ("Red native men and women, of whom there are untold hordes") and the patent villains ("The Black Man's Guard, negative but repentant"). "The play ends with the victory of the Red natives, the only way it can end." The dress rehearsal is watched by an official called Savva Lukich who is to give permission for the play to run. A catastrophe is imminent: Savva feels that the play should be banned on ideological grounds. The director instantly rewrites the final scene, which now features "an international revolution." British sailors return to the island, throw their captains into the sea and sing a brisk revolutionary song. The play is approved.

So what? What is the relevance to us of this satire of theatrical mores? The message of Bulgakov's lampoon is much deeper. In effect, it exposes dogmatism.

In the latter half of the 1920s, open political discussion and an imaginative approach to problems was being increasingly replaced by dreary dogmatism. A vulgar sociological approach became prevalent in literature and the arts, an approach prompted by dogma designed to justify the administration by injunction that was becoming increasingly widespread.

Little by little, living reality was replaced and crushed by ossified ideological formulae. Gradually an alternative reality grew up, and clever methods were devised to explain why what presents itself to an impartial and sober observer is not reality. Over the decades since then we have refined this skill to perfection. As our foreign colleagues often told us: "We do not like your line of reasoning because more often than not it is sophistic rather than dialectical. As soon as a new slogan appears, you go all out to prove that nothing else could be in fuller accordance with Marxism, and that this is the solely correct slogan. There happen to be radical changes in life, and each time you insist, with the same ardour, that the current line is the only correct one."

Let's face it, there is a measure of truth in these reproaches. A precise and unbiased Marxist social analysis has been replaced, all too often, by yessing and sophistic "substantiations" of the official point of view.

This practice has been detrimental to the theory and practice of socialist upbuilding. It has drained theory of the spirit of discussion, of the atmosphere of bold creative quests. And what about practice? Practice went its hard way. And the further reality deviated from the dogma, the higher pressure was exerted by dogmatism. Things were no longer confined to theoretical explanations and propaganda: government bodies had to step in to "substantiate" a dogma.

This is a natural step, a step from theory to practice, as it were. Savva Lukich is producing a play. But actually he is "producing" reality. Life is tailored to dogma. We call this bureaucratic abuse, arbitrary administration.

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It is clear that sooner or later life comes into conflict with bureaucratic prescriptions. The need arises to shed dogmas and start thinking in a new way.

Here are a few examples drawn not from the theatre but from real life, but no less dramatic for that.

Let us consider the ideas prevalent in our society about the ecological problem. When industry was relatively undeveloped it seemed to us that our vast country's natural resources were inexhaustible. Comparing ourselves with capitalist countries, we attributed the cleanness of our rivers and air to the inherent advantages of socialism. Theories were advanced to explain it. It was believed that if the earth's riches and water are the property of the socialist state, this automatically ensures us against any problems. We had no need to worry, we felt. The smoke from our socialist chimneystack cannot pollute our socialist blue sky. This prompted an irresponsible, profligate attitude to nature, which, combined with departmental bureaucracy, has led us to the brink of an ecological crisis. Lake Baikal, Lake Ladoga are only the most dramatic examples. But it was hard to give up the dogma. Instead, a tried bureaucratic method was used and publications raising acute ecological problems were banned.

Another example. Theorists had proved long before the revolution that religion would die away under socialism. And indeed, the social transformations following the October revolution, plus a massive anti-illiteracy campaign, atheist propaganda and prodigous efforts in the field of education brought a dramatic fall in the number of religious believers. This prompted the glib assumption that we had by and large put an end to religion, which would soon die away completely. Because reality did not correspond with this conclusion (religious sentiments were not only tenacious but were receiving a new impulse from certain current phenomena) attempts were made to precipitate the demise of religion by administrative measures, some of which were unconstitutional. So a theoretical conclusion turned into a dogma and reality was forced into the Procrustean Bed of theory.

Here is another dogma. We have long convinced ourselves that ordinary people the world over are Bulgakov's "Red natives, of whom there are untold hordes," and that they regard our country with admiration and love. "All people of good will are looking towards us," wrote the newspapers.

The international situation changed, sometimes dramatically, and many political phenomena in our country far from enhanced its authority in the world. But our propaganda kept plugging away at the romantic idea of "all people of good will" looking towards our country.

It was ourselves we hypnotized with our propaganda. Anyone who has been abroad knows that in recent decades the place our country has occupied on the world cultural scene, in the press, and in world public opinion, was far less than its size and potential warranted. And, as we now self-critically admit, we did not have much to boast of: the Bolshoi Ballet alone could not win us universal love.

One can subscribe to Mikhail Gorbachev's words in his article, "Reality and Guarantees of Secure Peace" to the effect that peoples must know each other's societies as they are and not as they would like to imagine them, that we should "get rid of the stereotypes of the 'enemy image,' of preconceptions and prejudice, absurd inventions and the deliberate distortion of and shameless disregard for, the truth."

The current changes in our thinking are shattering one dogma after another. We have come to recognize that equality is a shared problem, and that we have no mysterious magic answers. We have become aware that religious sentiments will not go away on their own. Long and painstaking persuasion will be required, based on sincere respect for the other person's opinion, on competence and good will. We have at last realized that we are not going to be loved just because we are representatives of the world's first socialist country. We are not going to be loved and respected merely for the ideas we proclaim, but for how we implement them. Awareness of all this prompts the need to close the gap between words and deeds, the plea which is now being made from the highest of rostrums.

Euphoria, dogmatic smugness, estrangement from reality and from facts are being overcome, albeit not without effort. This effort is necessary. Constant hard work is necessary, as it has become clear that things will not get off the ground on their own due to the supposedly automatic effect of the advantages of socialism. We cannot ride into the future on a Russian stove like Yemelya, the character in the Russian folk tale, "at the pike's bidding, of my own desire" (translation: at history's bidding, at our "desire"). The advantages of socialism make success possible, but they do not guarantee it. Open-minded study, the ability to face up to facts, and creative work - we need all this if we are to enjoy a clear sky over our heads, clear thinking, love and respect.

THE ADVANTAGES OF SOCIALISM MAKE SUCCESS POSSIBLE, BUT DO NOT GUARANTEE IT

These, in my view, are the main reasons for an undogmatic approach to ourselves and the world. The emergent new thinking has no use for such resonant, but often misleading terms as "victorious," "unshakeable" and "invincible." Today these words can only come between us and our real problems. New thinking is not something "monumental." It is day-to-day, working thought. The problems it encounters are the problems of a period of transition, a period of overcoming dogmatism.

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I once read about a biological experiment. A fish bowl was divided in two by a transparent glass partition. The fish swam and bumped their noses against the invisible but impassable obstacle. When, a few days later, the partition was removed, the fish approached the place where it had been and stopped, unable to cross the non-existent barrier.

It is the same with the dire legacy of dogmatism. It imposes constraints on the mind of which the mind is often unaware. The constraints are no longer there, but people still feel bound by them. The power of dogma cannot be destroyed by knowledge alone. Education does not remove the invisible barrier. We all know many people who are fully aware that we should live differently from before, but we are stuck in a groove. To overcome the power of the dogma in our own minds, an effort of the will is required. We must make a choice and assume responsibility for the results.

Those who believe that once the choice has been made it will be "plain sailing" are deluded. On the contrary, things will be more difficult. The burden of dogma is easy to bear simply because it rules out personal responsibility. Actions are not judged by conscience. It is enough that they should correspond to prescriptions. But once the choice in favour of new thinking has been made, people will no longer be able to justify their actions by invoking the authority of "leaders" and "classics." Each individual will bear the responsibility for his own actions. That is why it is so difficult to cross the invisible barrier, the barrier of moral choice.

But think of the boundless creative opportunities that could open up when the barrier is crossed.

WHERE THE DANUBE BEGINS

FROM THE BLACK SEA TO THE ALPS

From our own correspondent
ALEXANDER TOLPEGIN

The small round pool some five metres in diametre is surrounded by a wrought iron railing and a stone ballustrade between which there is a narrow path for those wishing to peer at the spring spouting at the bottom of the pool. The centrepiece of this architectural composition consists of two sculpted female figures called "Mother Baar sends her young daughter Donau on her way to the East." Donau is a proper noun of the female gender and is the German name for the Danube, while Baar is the name of the plain between the Schwarzwald mountains in the west and the Schwäbische Alb mountains in the east.

It is here, in a park in Donaueschingen, a town in Baden Württemberg, that Europe's second biggest river after the Volga begins.

A TOWN NEAR THE BLACK FOREST

The sculpture and the railing were installed late in the past century by order of the mighty Prince Fürstenberg. The prince's decision to regard the spring in his park as the "source of the Danube" is explained more by conceit than geography. Indeed, from the pool the water flows into a pipe that discharges into the nearby river Brigach and it is only beyond the town that the Brigach merges with yet another river, the Breg, to form the Danube.

But some 30 kilometres further, near the village of Immendingen, the Danube almost totally vanished into the limestone that forms its bed. Scientists have established that the water resurfaces again, this time in the form of the small river Aach that flows into Lake Bodensee. As for the almost vanished Danube, it regains its strength in the Schwäbische Alb, where it absorbs the discharge of a multitude of springs and rivulets. So the people of Schwäbische Alb insist, not without reason, that the "real" Danube begins in their locality.

But whatever the case, Donaueschingen is considered the first town on the Danube, and the symbolical source of the great river attracts a multitude of tourists.

The ancient town (two years from now Donaueschingen will be 1,100 years old) is very well situated to attract tourists. Passing near it is an autobahn linking Stuttgart, the capital of Baden-Württemberg, with the shores of Lake Bodensee. It takes only a 30-minute drive to reach Schwarzwald (the Black Forest), famed for its romantic scenery and a favourite outdoor recreation area with West Germans it is in the Schwarzwald mountains that the rivers forming the Danube, the Brigach and the Breg, begin.

Will Schwarzwald retain its enchantment? It is in grave danger today. The Black Forest, which once earned its name for its untouched primordial beauty, is now becoming black in the real meaning of the word. Three quarters of its trees, mostly conifers, are stricken with disease. "The time is not far off when memories of the fir, the tree most loved by Germans, will survive only in Christmas carols," the magazine Stern grimly predicts.

Forests are perishing not only in Schwarzwald but also in the Bavarian Alps, Harz, Sauerland, Schwäbische Alb and other parts of the F.R.G. True, the pace at which forests are dying has somewhat stabilized after dramatically accelerating early in the 1980s. Experts explain this by the more favourable weather conditions of the past two years, which brought an increase in precipitation. But there is no room for complacency. The preservation of forests remains one of the F.R.G.'s most pressing ecological problems.

The pollution of the atmosphere with industrial waste is considered the main cause of tree disease. In the Schwarzwald alone there are some 50 kilos of sulphurous "sediment" per hectare. Two thirds of the air pollutants are "imported" here from nearby Alsace, an industrial region of France. Research has shown that serious damage to the forest is also being inflicted by wind-borne chemical pesticides. Some scientists say the increased electromagnetic radiation in the vicinity of radar and television stations also causes trees to wither. In short, the causes of the extinction of forests are diverse and far from having been fully established.

The disappearance of the Black Forest would have catastrophic economic and ecological consequences. Without it agriculture would vanish and the woodworking industry would have nothing to do. Tourists would turn away. And what would happen to the Danube should the Brigach and Breg become shallow? And would not the spring in the park in Donaueschingen dry up? These questions are still unanswered and they worry the residents of Donaueschingen.

"We understand that such complex ecological problems can be solved only within the framework of extensive international cooperation," I was told by Ernst Zimmermann, the public relations officer of the Town Council. "We hold that everyone must make his contribution. For our part, we will do everything to protect the environment. Have you read in the papers the results of the comparative studies of the pollution of rivers in the Federal Republic? Well, the Danube is the cleanest river in the F.R.G. And we take some of the credit for this. A purifying installation has already been operating in Donaueschingen for fifteen years and it also services neighbouring communities. But now it can no longer cope with the increased requirements. We are building a new installation which will purify waste waters four times more than the efficiently existing one."

"This must cost a lot...."

"35 million marks. We get 40 per cent of this sum from the Land budget, while the remainder of the sum is provided by the town and neighbouring communities. We have had to raise water rates. Well, you have to pay if you want the Danube to be clean."

Ernst Zimmermann also told me about the decision to switch domestic heating from coal and oil to gas as this will considerably reduce harmful emissions into the atmosphere. The town gets its fuel

Continued from issues 33 and 36.

Regensburg, a centuries-old town in the upper reaches of the Danube.

from the concern Ruhrgas AG which, in turn, buys gas in large quantities from the Soviet Union.

"Gas from distant Western Siberia is helping us in our struggle against air pollution," he remarked.

The local authorities have far fewer possibilities of influencing enterprises, although they have the right to prevent the siting in the town of enterprises capable of exerting a baleful influence on the environment. And they use this right. Recently, for instance, they rejected an application from a firm to build a foundry in Danaueschingen.

The striving of the townspeople to preserve the purity of nature at the sources of the Danube merits appreciation. But Herr Zimmermann is right: solving the problem depends on the development of all-European cooperation. The first steps have already been made. The Convention on long-range transboundary air pollution has been in operation since 1983. This has enabled European countries to start to adopt and implement measures to reduce the emission of harmful substances. Experts are now meeting on a regular basis. But a complete solution to the problem is still far off.

A PROJECT STARTED 1,200 YEARS AGO

Navigation on the Danube now starts from Regensburg, an ancient Bavarian town. Here cargoes are transferred from ships to railway cars and vice versa. But it looks as if Regensburg will soon shed its importance as a trans-shipment port. Ships from the lower reaches of the Danube will sail to ports on the Rhine. This will be possible after the completion of a canal linking the Danube and the Rhine.

The canal beings near the town of Kelheim, 30 kilometres upriver from Regensburg. I went to Kelheim to attend the press conference held annually by the firms building the canal - the Rhine-Main-Danube (RMD) joint-stock society. The one-storeyed barracks-like building with the pretentious name of "information pavilion" was filled mostly by local journalists. I turned out to be the only correspondent to have come from Bonn. But the organizers of the press conference seemed to be unruffled by the almost total absence of interest on the part of big West German newspapers and the foreign media. They surely remember the stormy discussion of the early 1980s when not all the reviews of the "project of the century" were rapturous.

But before turning to the debate I would like to outline the history of this project, which began twelve centuries ago. It was Charles the Great who made the first attempt to build a waterway from the Danube to the Rhine. In the summer of 793, chronicles say, some 6,000 workers began to dig a canal to link the Altmühl, a tributary of the Danube, with the Regnitz, a tributary of the Main. But work had to be stopped in December of that year as it had become clear that the builders would not be able to cope with their task: the banks of the canal collapsed because of the marshy terrain. The chronicler explained the failure as a manifestation of the will of God.

The idea, however, lived on. Numerous projects were drawn up in the 16th and 17th centuries, but not one of them was carried out. Napoleon considered building the canal, but it was only under the Bavarian King Ludwig the First that the "thousand-year-old dream" was fulfilled. The building of the 150-kilometre-long canal from Dietfurt on the Altmuhl to Bamberg on the Main took 14 years and the official opening of the canal took place in 1846. But it soon turned out that the royal designers had made one irreparable miscalculation: they had failed to appreciate the appearance of a new competitor-rail transport. It turned out to be cheaper to carry cargoes by rail than along the canal designed for horse-drawn barges with a carrying capacity of only 120 tons. The canal was operated till 1913 but its economic importance remained negligible.

But failure does not appear to have deterred the stubborn Bavarians, who wanted to have an outlet to the North Sea. During World War I the Landtag discussed a plan to build a canal capable of handling big ships. In 1921 Bavaria concluded a treaty with the central government "on the speediest implementation of the plan to create the Main-Danube waterway." It was then that the RMD Joint Stock Society was formed and a unique plan for financing the huge project was worked out. RMD was granted the right to build hydropower stations on the Main, the Danube and its tributaries and to spend the money earned from the generation of electricity on the construction of the canal. The society was also guaranteed interest-free state credits which were to be gradually returned after the completion of construction with money earned from the sale of electricity. The treaty is in force to this day.

The construction was to have been completed in thirteen years but the end is still far away. Before World War II, the builders managed to expand the channels of the Main and the Danube, and only then along some sections, so that ships with a cargo-carrying capacity of up to 1,500 tons could pass. The construction of the canal itself was started only early in the 1960s, while the first section from Bamberg to Nuremberg, 72 kilometres long, was put into service in 1972.

But when work on the section from Nuremberg to Kelheim was already in full swing, an economic institute published results of research showing that the canal's operation would bring only losses. The camp of those opposed to continuing the canal's construction was headed by none other than the then Minister of Transport Volker Hauff, a Social Democrat, who called the idea of linking the Danube with the Main "the most foolish project since the time of the building of the Tower of Babel." The billions of marks invested in the project will be "frozen," Hauff contended. He also expressed doubt that the money could ever be recouped. An end to the construction was also demanded by the ecological movement, which had come into being by then. The habitat of rare birds and plants, many of which are recorded in the Red Book, would be destroyed in the flood valleys of the Altmühl and the Danube, they contended.

Those in favour of completing the project, among whom the Bavarian government stood out for its determination, presented their arguments. The estimates of economic insolvency, they contended, were based on erroneous assumptions. Besides, they went on, the importance of the canal should not be estimated only from the viewpoint of shipping. The canal is to pass through relatively economically underdeveloped parts of Northern Bavaria. After the completion of construction, it is hoped in Munich, firms will be more willing to locate their enterprises there. The canal will also make it possible to divert a part of the Danube's waters to areas suffering from a shortage of moisture. As for damage to nature, the supporters of continuing construction conceded, this was to some extent inevitable but the builders would try to reduce it to a minimum.

Nobody knows how this struggle would have ended had the Christian Democrats not come to power in Bonn. In February 1983 the Kohl-Genscher government decided to continue construction, and at

the quickest possible pace at that. A year later the Greens made an attempt in the Bundestag to stop the project and tabled a draft resolution to this effect, but it failed to win support.

"SECOND-HAND NATURE"

At the press conference, a member of the RMD board, Hans-Peter Seidel, announced that a 99-kilometre stretch of the canal between Nuremberg and Kelheim was 70 per cent ready, that 22 kilometres (from Nuremberg to Roth) had already been put into service, 25 kilometres were ready for commissioning, and work was under way on a 27-kilometre stretch, while the remaining 25 kilometres of the canal existed as yet only on the drawing board. If construction continued at the present rate the entire waterway from the Danube to the Rhine could be expected to be ready for navigation by 1992, Seidel said. So far five billion marks have been spent on construction and at least a billion more are needed to complete the job. Journalists naturally asked Seidel how environment protection requirements were being observed in the course of the canal's construction.

"You can see this for yourselves," Seidel responded and offered a bus ride along a completed section of the canal.

This section passes through the valley of the river Altmühl, which caused special concern to ecologists. I expected to see the concrete-clad banks of a river converted into a canal, huge hydro-engineering installations and traces of recent construction.... But we were shown something different. We drove slowly along a dirt road (absence of asphalt is a rarity in the F.R.G.) and viewed through the windows idyllic scenes of green meadows and cut-off lakes overgrown with reeds. Anglers were sitting on the banks of the Altmühl, which seemed to continue to flow within its natural channel. The staff members of the firm who were accompanying us told the story, not without satisfaction, of the awkward situation in which a television team had found itself. It had made a film which was intended to demonstrate the destructive effect of the construction on nature. The pictures shot in the Altmühl valley had the following narrative: "And this part of paradise will be destroyed." But without knowing it, the cameramen had already filmed recultivated landscapes, or as they say here, "second-hand nature."

Probably the Altmühl valley has undergone some changes. I am no judge as I have never been here before. But I did see for myself that the landscape restored by the builders could hardly be distinguished from the natural one.

Seidel says that the construction of the canal in the Altmühl valley was a sort of ecological test for his firm. He thinks the builders have passed the test with success and solved the problems they encountered. Seidel has penned a whole booklet on this subject, and it was distributed among the journalists at the press conference.

Seidel writes that a landscape plan for the entire Altmühl valley was worked out as early as in 1974, that is, long before the debate about the exdpediency of building the canal. The aim of the plan was not only to protect the valley's natural environment but even to make it more diversified. Thus, along with preserving as many as possible of the existent cut-off lakes with their flora and fauna, it was intended to create new ones. Designers tried to avoid the flooding of large areas, and provision was made for the creation of artificial islands.

The drawing up of this plan required the cooperation of engineers, landscape architects, biologists and lymnologists. Builders were obliged to keep to this plan as strictly as to the technical one. Of course, this made construction more expensive. Spending on ecological objectives in the Altmühl valley accounted for 14 per cent of the actual cost of construction. The development of the animal and plant world in the valley is under observation. The booklet says that rare plants previously not encountered here have now been found.

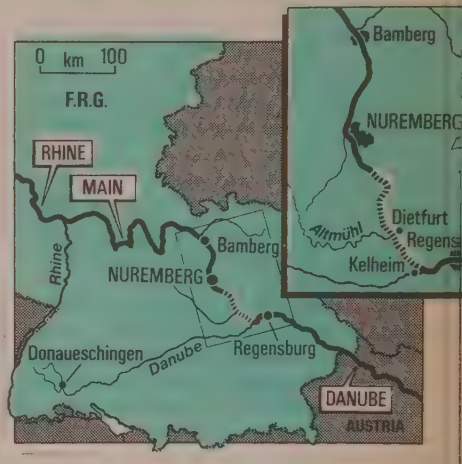
To listen to Seidel, the firm adopted its nature-conservancy measures almost entirely of its own free will. In reality much has been done and is being done only as a result of public pressure.

Simultaneously with the construction of the canal, work is in progress to widen the Danube, which is actually turning into a reservoir system. On the 30-kilometre section between Geisling and Regensburg, the area of flood meadows has been halved, while of the 116 cut-off lakes only 46 remain. True, ecologists succeeded at the last moment in forcing a decision to relocate the biologically most valuable floodland lake. This unique operation was carried out in the winter of 1983-84 and cost RMD five million marks. But when it started building the next dam, in the Straubing area, the firm already had to review its entire project, with due account of criticism from ecologists. As a result, it proved possible to preserve a considerable part of the valuable meadows which, under the old project, were to be flooded. Now even a nature reserve with an area of 320 hectares is being planned there.

As we see, protests by conservationists have not been in vain. But the changes in the plans have to be introduced in the course of construction and in-built errors cannot always be rectified. What lessons should be drawn from this for the future? Former Minister of Transport Hauff reasonably believes that projects on such a scale should be started only after a discussion of all the economic and ecological questions involved. In this case everything was the other way round. Alas, with "projects of the century" it is only in the f.R.G. that this happens.

NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR COOPERATION

So the long construction of the canal ás coming to an end. The first ships will sail along it some five years from now. Will the canal be open to ships from other countries, in particular, countries of the Danube basin? What will its importance be for the development of economic cooperation? I went with these questions to the Ministry of Transport in Bonn, where I was received by Dr Philipp Nau, head of the Department of Inland Shipping.



The Danube-Rhine waterway is to open in 1992.

"We have invested a lot of effort and money in the canal, so naturally we are interested in using it intensively which also means by all the Danube states," Dr Nau said. "We find it desirable for the legal foundation of such cooperation to be created now. This would give all the interested countries, enterprises and organizations a chance to prepare appropriately for the opening of the canal."

The canal will link two of Europe's major waterways, which have different juridical regimes of navigation. Shipping along the Rhine is regulated by the so-called Mannheim convention, signed in 1868,

while shipping on the Danube is regulated by the Belgrade convention of 1948 which was signed by all the Danube states except the F.R.G. True, since 1957 a representative of the West German Ministry of Transport has attended meetings of the Danube Commission as an unofficial observer. According to Dr Nau, the question is now being considered whether the Federal Republic should join the Belgrade convention and become a fully-fledged member of the Danube Commission. Such a step, incidentally, would be in line with the recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act.

The Rhine-Main-Danube canal passes only through the territory of the F.R.G. And it is being built only by the F.R.G. For this reason Bonn views the canal as a national waterway which does not fall under the jurisdiction of either the Mannheim or the Danube conventions. Its use by other countries is possible on the basis of bilateral agreements on shipping along inland waterways.

"We gave all Danube countries the option on signing such agreements," Herr Nau said. "The agreement with Austria has already been signed and talks with the Soviet Union, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have been completed. The agreements have been initialled and we hope they will be signed in the near future. It is possible that talks with Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Romania will begin this year. The opening of the canal will give the Danube countries an outlet to the North Sea. They will be able to use my country's inland waterways, which have an aggregate length of about 4,500 kilometres."

The question of giving access to foreign ships was also raised during discussion on the feasibility of continuing the construction of the canal. In the heat of the debate some people went so far as to contend that the canal was being "built for the Soviet Union with German money." The state-owned "Red fleet" would appear in the F.R.G.'s inland waters and ruin West German shipping companies. I asked Herr Nau what he thought about such contentions.

"They are totally groundless," he replied. "We ourselves are interested primarily in the canal. Of foreign countries I would say that Austria is most interested. For the simple reason that it is closest to the canal. Thus, with the opening of the canal, ore for Austrian metallurgical plants will be delivered from Rotterdam in river boats. As for the 'Red fleet' or the fleet of any other country, there is no reason to fear competition from them. The treaties provide for a fair distribution of cargoes."

So let us hope that the canal which has given rise to such a fierce debate in the F.R.G. will eventually serve a good cause - the strengthening of cooperation between the peoples of Europe.

Bonn

Preaching peace

New Times correspondent Alexander Furman interviews Metropolitan of Kiev and Galich and Exarch of the Ukraine Filaret about the peace-making activity of the Russian Orthodox Church and its attitude to the changes currently under way inthis country.

History shows that as early as the Middle Ages when Kiev Rus was disunited, the Church more than once mediated between the warring princes. Times change, as does the function of the Church with regard to secular life. What importance does the Orthodox Church attach to peace-making activity today?

As a result of the creation of nuclear weapons, humanity is facing the threat of self-destruction. Therefore, the Russian Orthodox Church deems it important to participate in the peace movement. It does not confine its mission to preaching peace in churches. We cooperate with all religious and secular peace movements. A year ago, at a meeting of the Holy Synod, the Russian Orthodox Church adopted its Message on Questions of War and Peace in the Nuclear Age. We think that there cannot be a just war in the nuclear age. Whatever the cause of a nuclear war, it will be unjust, for it will destroy the whole of mankind. We welcome the proposal of the Soviet leaders to eliminate nuclear weapons by the year 2000, the more so in that the date is associated with two millennia of Christianity.

Do you think the prospect of a non-nuclear world likely? Is it possible completely and definitively to abolish the nuclear bomb, an evil that has long plagued us?

We are convinced that nuclear weapons can be abolished. As for the theory of deterrence and the justification of existing nuclear weapons by the argument that there has been no war in Europe for more than 40 years and that the credit for this goes to the nuclear bomb, these arguments are not tenable. The Russian Orthodox Church maintains that the theory of deterrence only works given the likelihood of nuclear weapons being used. Now, however, politicians the world over say the atomic bomb will not be used. But while it exists, there is also the danger of its being used. Thus, deterrence does not contain but fosters the arms race.

Your Eminence, I should like now to ask you a few questions concerning the social development of our country. Perestroika is under way in the U.S.S.R. How does the Russian Orthodox Church respond to this?

I should say that our Church supports the process now developing in the Soviet Union. Why? Because it aims to enhance our socialist Homeland. We particularly welcome those elements of perestroika that relate to spirituality and morality. There cannot be any social progress without the strengthening of morality. The Russian Orthodox Church holds that it can and must make its contribution to the refining of morals. We also welcome the process of democratization. Democracy and openness have also affected the Church.

How?

It is giving us the opportunity to extend our publishing activity. It also affects the opening of new communities and the building of churches and prayer houses....

The spiritual renewal of Soviet society is being welcomed by both atheists and religious figures. Does this mean a reconciliation between atheism and religion?

I do not think that a reconciliation between atheism and religion will ever be possible. But people of different outlooks can cooperate. Differences are profound even between different religions. Yet if we can hope that religions can live in harmony, why is it not possible to live in harmony with people of a different ideology? Neither side, however, should be fanatical and attempt forced conversion into its beliefs. Perestroika, in our opinion, creates a favourable basis for cooperation between believers and non-believers in developing a more just society.

Kiev

Must a journalist feel his work will endure?

Thomas Powers wrote to Stanislav Kondrashov that he makes sure his publishers print books on paper that does not yellow or fade with time, so that his grandchildren and great grandchildren will know what problems we wrestled with. And Stanislav Kondrashov (speaking through his alter ego, the hero of his recent book, "Travels of an Expert on America") made this comment: "The idea of strong durable paper made him think: what conceit, don't they have other problems?" It prompted other ideas in the Expert on America, but they need not concern us for the moment. The American does not want his work to die with the paper it is written on. But what of the Expert on America? Is he not being coy? Isn't the professional motive that drives him largely the same?

Thomas Powers, an intelligent and independent American scholar, writes about the nuclear age.

Stanislav Kondrashov is a political observer who has spent many years as Izvestia correspondent in the U.S. and is author of several books. His latest book, "Travels of an Expert on America," has been nominated for the U.S.S.R. State Prize. What may well be the key episode in the book is devoted to the hero's relationship with Thomas Powers.

How, then, is a writer (especially if he is not a novelist but a reporter writing for magazines and newspapers) to feel about the inherent quality of paper to fade with time? Resignation? Should he put his ability, observation and wit at the mercy of the quality of the paper on which his work is printed? In that case the newspaperman's lot is unenviable. Newspapers fade very fast and outdate even faster - who is interested in yesterday's news? Perhaps newspapermen should get used to this transience and resign themselves to the fact that newspapers fade? The work of Stanislav Kondrashov challenges this simplistic, basically cynical attitude, which many find axiomatic and even convenient.

Stanislav Kondrashov has worked for the same newspaper for 30 years. You can count how many issues have appeared over those 30 years. He has survived a succession of editors, each of whom had his own ideas of what should and what should not be written and what was needed at a particular moment. He has seen a succession of eras: the cold war, détente, and the chill breath of a new ice age. And, more recently, the birth throes of the new thinking. These are tectonic shifts. How does a poor newspaperman face up to them? Is he to move with the times, or become extinct, like the dinosaur? Why is it being increasingly suggested that international affairs, in which everything can change from one day to the next, have turned out to be the least flexible and most conservative form of journalism?

The fact is that it is not a question of regimented change. Facility in adapting to every change in the direction of the wind has nothing to do with true social insight and the ability to respond to the genuine concerns of the day. The imperatives of society are not conveyed by telephone. They are prompted by an inner voice and not by the voice of the boss, whether mellow or abrasive. A journalist's position not only on a newspaper but, to an even greater extent on public opinion, depends on how he interprets the requirements of society.

A journalist's duty, a journalist's dignity. These may be high-sounding words, but the newspaperman's palette must include pathos, as well as irony, humour and anger. What should be avoided are false words that conflict with reality. It is all too easy for a journalist to err by putting expediency before principle, by exaggerating, glossing things over, or giving vent to unjust criticism. These are such common sins that they have come to be widely condoned as inherent in our profession. Stanislav Kondrashov has no such sins to conceal.

People expect writers on international affairs to answer two questions: what is the world we live in like? Where are we, and who are we in this world? Our eyes are trained on the country across the Atlantic, our social antipode and political opponent, which has built up an overkill of weapons. What are its origins and where is America going? What kind of country is America and what kind of people are the Americans? Are we doomed to gaze at each other with unblinking eyes through nuclear sights, waiting for the other side to bat an eyelid, and wondering who will be the first to imagine what is inconceivable yet expected at every second? Or is trust possible and can enemies become partners and form an alliance to save themselves and the world?

If I were to review Stanislav Kondrashov's newspaper work in a single line, I would say that he began to ask all these questions before others, and provided the best answers to them.

Why, then, the nagging and furious discontent with himself, the protest against the unidimensional character of his own writing that one finds in his recent books? He diagnoses the disease as "unuttered" thoughts and feelings. Even if the editor is generous with space, newspaper articles are too short. The newspaper approach is basically narrow: politics, only politics or mainly politics. But what of the many colours of life, the spirit of society, the character of a nation, its mores, which, incidentally, may be crucial to politics?

His articles often begin with descriptions of airports, planes, departures and arrivals. These would be clichés if the refrain did not create the image of the road, the choice of road which one makes all one's life. While he tried to understand and is drawn to another country, he is drawn to his native land, to its roots; he longs for a settled life, but the settled life is not for him. Us and Them. A Russian writer, he writes about America. Why should he? Is it necessary? Another agonizing question.

This agony has given birth to some of his best books.

His books are distinguished by a beguiling simplicity of style. His transparent prose has hidden depths. One has to read between the lines. The text is the journalist's domain. What lies between the lines is the domain and lot of the writer. What about the narrator? The author's personality is in the atmosphere of his books and its strongly held beliefs.

What are the questions he feels strongly about?

It is "the idea that it is a small place, this split and divided world, in which we are all wayfarers and fellow travellers, and share the same fate, linked by a single rope."

Kondrashov has arrived at the wonderful and humanist idea of ourselves as the earth's children who must be aware of themselves as fellow denizens of the earth. He arrived at this idea in spite or perhaps because of the fact that he has worked as a newspaperman for 30 years.

I could put a fullstop here, but I have a small debt to the reader. I mentioned Thomas Powers, who does not want his work to be printed on paper that fades and corrupts. I interrupted the author at the point where he said he thought that conceited. But further on he says: "Yet at least it was heartening that his acquaintance, despite his premonitions and fears, hoped to live to see his grandchildren and great grandchildren and, moreover, that he believed that they would be interested in our books."

I have a hunch that our Expert on America has the same hopes. He has every ground for them.

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

Science fiction and fantasy

What fantastic ideas are spun by science fiction writers when they get together for a chat behind closed doors! Are they amazed at the accuracy of their predictions! Do they voice their regret that hopes for a rational reconstruction of terrestrial affairs are as yet in the realm of wishful thinking! Are they still pinning their hopes on the rapid progress of science as a cure-all for every kind of trouble and misfortune! Or are they more concerned about the preservation of those natural resources and cultural values still at man's disposal! Moscow recently hosted an international writers' conference convened under the slogan "Science Fiction and the Future of Mankind." At the request of New Times YEREMEI PARNOV, chairman of the organizing committee, told us about the conference.

What did we get together for? To reflect on the most urgent contemporary problems and launch a "brain storming," as it were, utilizing the minds of the most prominent SF authors assembled in Moscow. "Brain storming" is a method recognized by scientists when it is necessary to concentrate the will and come up with new ideas. We invited, in the first place, people capable of generating ideas.

What did the participants in the conference discuss? The need to work for disarmament, preservation of the environment, eradicating want and poverty, developing pollution-free production and high technology, and improving health service. They urged free people-to-people contacts worldwide and worldwide glasnost.

Where does science fiction come in, one might ask. I shall permit myself this reminder: many features of the world we are living in were predicted by science fiction in the 1950s-60s.

Fantasy has always been ahead of reality. Take, for instance, the exploration of outer space. This has been treated in literature since ancient times. Spacecraft, astronaut, robot - this contribution to the contemporary lexis was made by science fiction authors. One might then ask: could man have reached the Moon without the science fiction that preceded the scientific quest? Yes, but only much later. It is significant that Sergei Korolyov loved science fiction. Jules Verne and H.G. Wells were his favourite authors. Many of our cosmonauts are likewise science fiction fans. Georgi Grechko has repeatedly stated that "our generation was summoned into space by science fiction."

Is the development of science possible without science fiction? Naturally, for science and literature live by their respective laws. We know that Nikolai Basov and Alexander Prokhorov, along with the American scientist Charles Townes, received the Nobel Prize for the laser - which was to some extent predicted in Alexei Tolstoi's novel "The Garin Death Ray." Not only does science fiction mobilize enthusiasts, it also prepares public consciousness for revolutionary discoveries, and causes society at large to concentrate its attention on the problem.

I should also like to point out that, by anticipating much, science fiction eliminates so-called "future shock" - fear of the future. The flight to the Moon was a staggering event, but we accepted it as something that was quite in the order of things.

Science fiction is becoming less technical, less entranced with technological novelties, more humane, more concerned with the fates of people. It is significant that many of today's science fiction authors were trained not in the natural sciences, but in the humanities.

Science fiction has thousands of definitions, and each of them explains an aspect of it. I would attempt to propose a definition based on the theory of games. Science fiction is a game in which the elements of the world are played with. It changes these elements and their correlations and then examines the result. Such an unexpected refraction, or a new angle of vision, opens up amazing possibilities for studying the world about us and the diversity of human nature.

If science fiction has had such a stimulating effect on scientific research and discovery, does it not bear some moral responsibility for the ecological crisis, for what we have done to Nature? Science fiction had already begun to speak about ecology when nobody even thought of the need to preserve anything, when plans for remaking Nature were all the rage. Almost the entire programme for the protection of the environment has been set out in the books of science fiction classics. I remember what an impression a story by Ray Bradbury made on me. The hero was an astronaut who, on his return from a space flight, gave his wife a precious wedding anniversary gift - a ring made from real pine. The story was written in the 1950s.... Science fiction was warning us of danger. Then, too, we might recall the novel "On the Beach" and Stanley Kramer's film based on it. The novel came out at just the time when the ban on nuclear testing in the atmosphere, under water and on the land surface was being debated, following uncontrolled explosions in the air and in the ocean, which were posing a genetic threat to mankind. But the impact of the novel, and particularly of the film - science fiction! - was astounding. I believe this impact influenced the signing of the agreement....

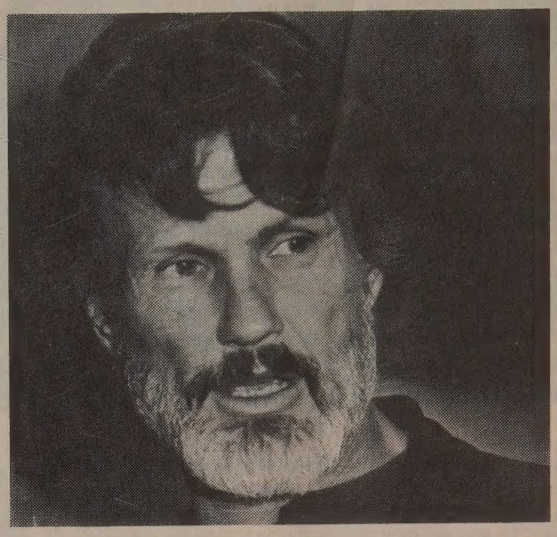
What can Soviet science fiction boast of? Its achievements are not very great. We have no science fiction magazines and with every passing year the publication of books in this genre decreases. In the U.S., approximately 800 new science fiction novels come out annually, while here we are lucky to get ten.

In the 1930s and 1940s the writing of science fiction was almost dangerous. Such a fine writer as Alexander Belayev was subjected to real persecution. But he looked very far into the future: an artificial satellite, mariculture (artificial cultivation of marine flora and fauna), and brainwashing.

The flourishing of Soviet science fiction is associated with the healthy developments in our society following the 20th Party Congress. New names appeared in sci-fi literature, among them that of Ivan Yefremov, many of whose ideas were subjects of research and practical work. In recent years our science fiction has been in a gradual decline. It has degenerated considerably and we can only hope for a sensational comeback in the future....

■

Ivan and John



Kris Kristofferson: "It is our duty to shatter stereotypes."

Photo by S. Bermenyev

Our meeting with the well-known American actor, singer and composer Kris Kristofferson took place in Moscow's Dinamo Palace of Sport. That evening an enormous butterfly fluttered onto the stage. On its wings were the flags of the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Such was the symbol of the Soviet-American seminar in Moscow - "Soviet-American images: a new perspective." It was organized by the Soviet Peace Committee together with the American public organization, The Centre for American-Soviet dialogue. The seminar closed with a joint concert at Dinamo Palace.

Kris Kristofferson said that among those who had come to Moscow to participate in the concert were David Ellzey, Larry Long, author of a popular song about political prisoners, the wonderful jazz singer Diana Reeves, and the musicians in his own group, organized in 1970. The audience at this gala concert welcomed all the performers with the same warmth - Alexander Gradsky, Kris Kristofferson, Diana Reeves and Sergei Manukyan, Marina Kapuro and Larry Long, David Ellzey and the poet Andrei Dementyev, film director Sergei Bondarchuk, and the Soviet rock groups Zemlyane (Earthmen) and Brigada C. The group Secret was particularly successful. These talented Russian boys revived the Beatles for us, said Kris.

Recently, positive changes have taken place in the relations between our two countries, he went on. Future prospects for cooperation in various fields have been outlined. This was his second visit to the Soviet Union. In February, he participated in the forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind." This second visit - to attend the Soviet-American seminar - was prompted by a wish to express sympathy for the Soviet people on behalf of ordinary Americans, and make his contribution to the important cause of rapprochement between our peoples. Really, what could be simpler: mutual good will in our relations, rejection of stereotypes in judging our own actions and those of others, and an end to thinking in categories of we Americans are good, and they the Russians are bad! It is essential to dispel the cloud of ignorance and prejudice, he said. This should be furthered by meetings at different levels. Simple human contacts, the ability to find a common language - such are the common verities that should serve to solve all the problems involved in maintaining peace. He said that he knew that many people in the U.S. were of the same opinion. Our countries bear special responsibility for human destiny. Improved relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. are an imperative of our time. It is our duty to destroy cold-war stereotypes, notwithstanding objective difficulties. It is no secret that a degree of inhibition still exists in American minds, doubts as to the possibility of closer ties with the Soviet Union.

Kristofferson said that it gave him great pleasure to see the words of his songs reach the hearts of Soviet audiences. Every creative person can only dream of this. He went on to say that although he did not sing as well as Bob Dylan or Ray Charles, he tried in his songs to present his own vision of the world, his attitude to people.

Recently, Kristofferson's group toured Austria and Switzerland. In July he sang in Nicaragua, and met President Daniel Ortega. Even prior to his trip to Nicaragua he had formed his own ideas about the policy of the U.S. President who wants to bring down the Sandinist government by force. Instead of dissociating himself from the contras, the president ostentatiously supports them.

During his visit to Nicaragua, Kristofferson was convinced that the attempts of the contras to overthrow the lawful government were doomed to failure. A people that has won its freedom cannot be brought to its knees. His attitude to U.S. policy in Nicaragua, he said, was a critical one. He supports the Ortega government and believes that the day will come when the struggle of the Nicaraguan people will be crowned with success.

I love my country, he said, and I am a patriot, but I cannot sit idly by while a war is being waged and innocent people and children are dying. A short time ago his sixth child, a son, was born. Tracy, the eldest daughter, is 25, while John, the youngest child, is only a few months old. His name is associated with something that happened during Kristofferson's visit to the U.S.S.R.. At the forum he got to know the leader of the group Time Machine, Andrei Makarevich. In honour of the beginning of their friendship they decided to give the expected new arrivals in their families the same name. Andrei called his son Ivan, and Kris called his John. Ivan lives in Leningrad, and John in Los Angeles. An enormous distance lies between them, but they share one life, one planet, and the same proud name of man.

The Russian writer Maxim Gorky once said: "Man! That's magnificent! That sounds...mighty." So let us all - citizens of the U.S. and the Soviet Union alike - be worthy of it.

YAROSLAV NOVITSKY

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When the children learned that they would have to fly to Moscow via Helsinki they were upset. This meant the journey would cost an extra nine thousand dollars. That's quite a sum, and the money for most participants in the trip had been collected by private individuals in various U.S. states.

CHILDREN ARE MAKING THE FUTURE

Help came from Yoko Ono, who had shortly before visited the U.S.S.R. "I believe in their mission so much..." said the widow of musician and composer John Lennon. She gave them the money to buy the tickets.

Linda Johnson, writer and teacher, told us the story. She has come to the Soviet Union with a group of 30 young Americans from 8 to 18 years of age, who wanted very much to make friends with their Soviet counterparts. The visit was arranged as part of the international programme Children as Social Inventors.

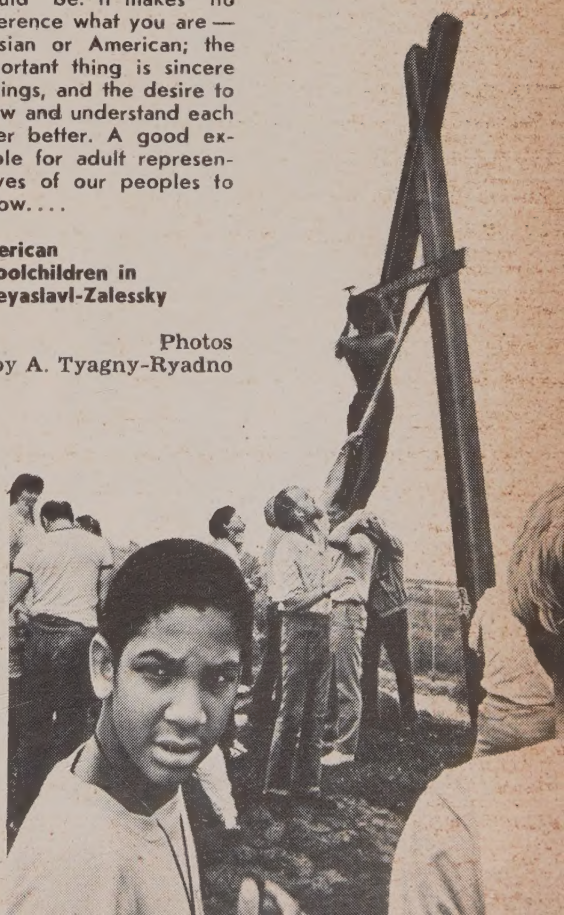
The Soviet Peace Committee, the Fund for the Survival of Mankind, the Soviet Red Cross Society and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences were involved in sponsoring the visit of American children to the Soviet Union.

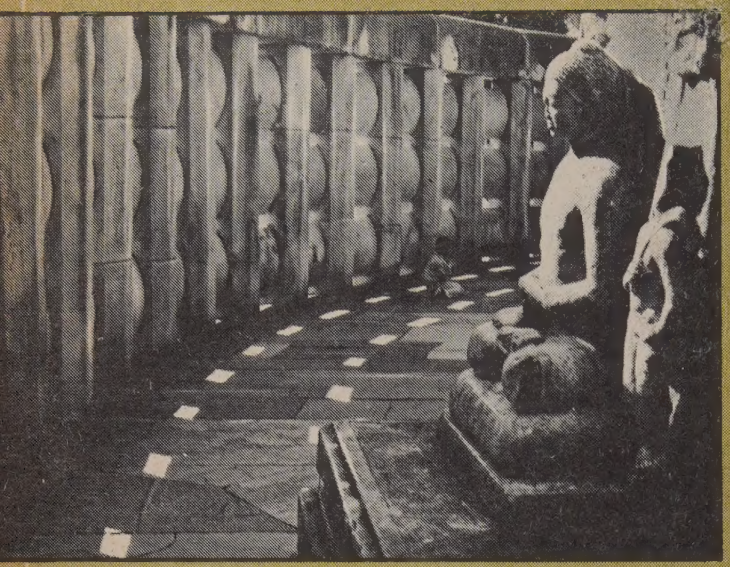
The American schoolchildren spent the last month of the summer in a pioneer camp on the banks of Lake Plescheyevo in Pereyaslavl-Zalessky.

Happy smiles, new impressions, encounters — that is what childhood should be. It makes no difference what you are — Russian or American; the important thing is sincere feelings, and the desire to know and understand each other better. A good example for adult representatives of our peoples to follow....

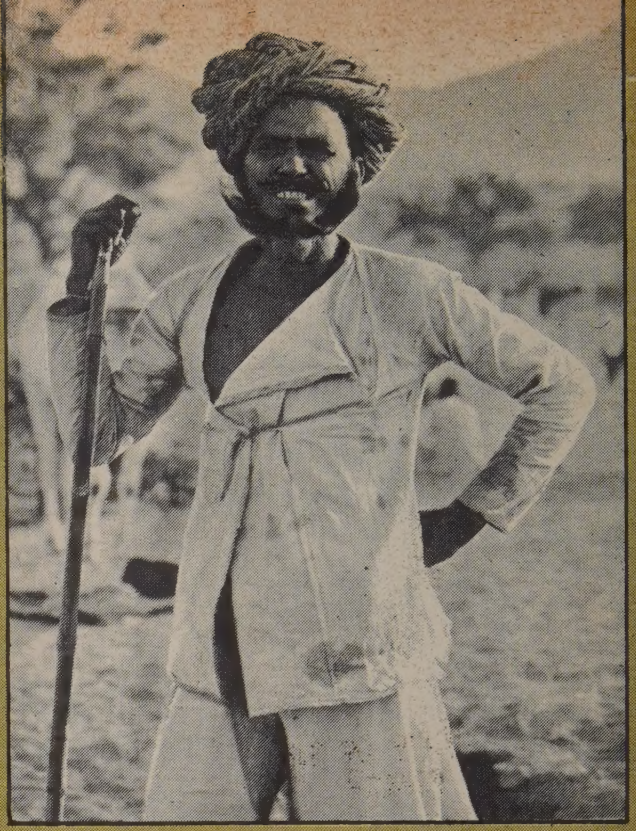
American schoolchildren in Pereyaslavl-Zalessky

Photos by A. Tyagny-Ryadno

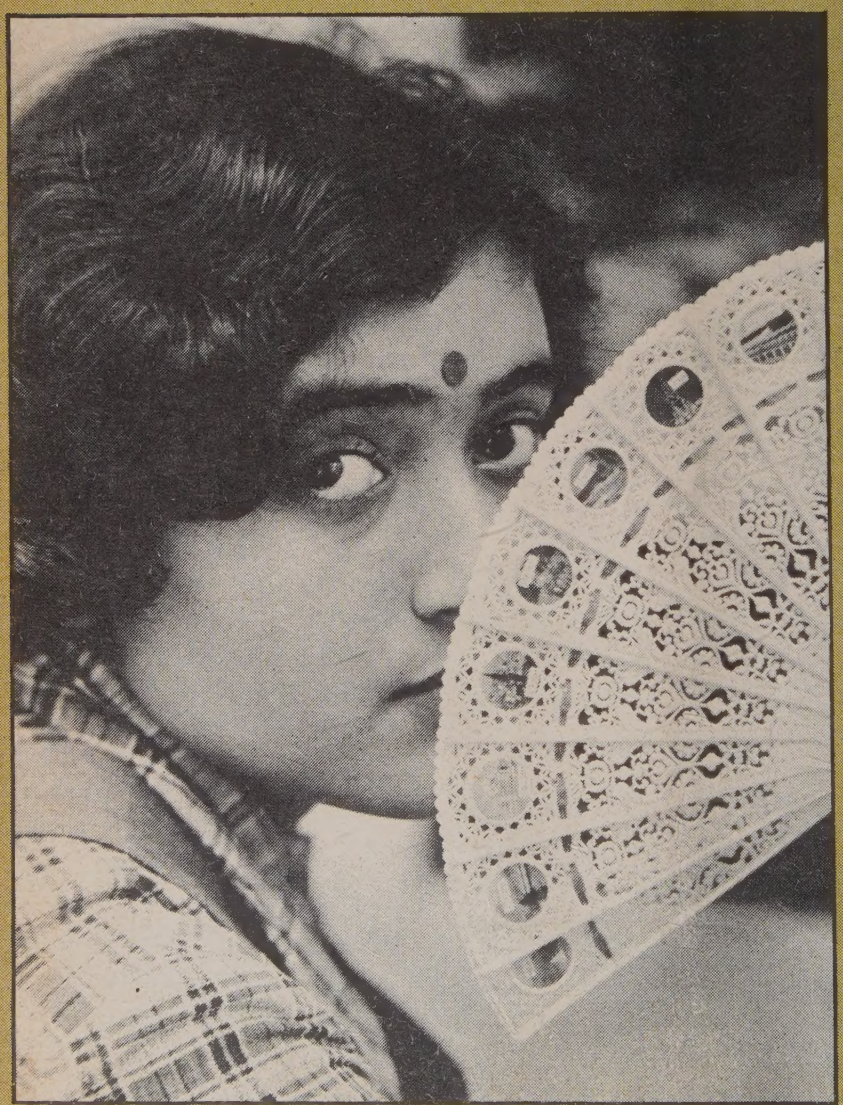




Contemplation



Wayfarer



Exchanging glances

INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND

L. R. Grover (India)

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